Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-229
Thursday
30 November 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-229 *30 November 1989*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Hungary's Lushev on 'Depoliticization' of Pact *[Budapest Radio]* 1
Warsaw Pact Defense Committee Communique Viewed *[ADN]* 1

BULGARIA

Next Meeting With Turkey Planned for 9 Jan *[BTA]* 2
Comment on CSSR 'Changes,' Hungarian Vote *[NARODNA ARMIYA 27 Nov]* 2
Sofia BZNS Members Critcize Party's Leaders *[BTA]* 2
Agrarians Seek Power *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 28 Nov]* 2
650 Declare Hunger Strike in Vratsa Prison *[TRUD 28 Nov]* 3
Another Hunger Strike *[TRUD 29 Nov]* 3
Environmental Activists Meet Ruse Citizens *[BTA]* 4
Sofia Communists State Position, Goals *[VECHERNI NOVINI 21 Nov]* 4
Dyulgerov Discusses Role of Trade Unions *[TRUD 20 Nov]* 5
'Alarming Trends' in Foreign Firms Cited *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 21 Nov]* 8
Background to Bulgarian Changes Viewed *[Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY 21 Nov]* 9

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

USSR's Gremitskikh Interviewed on Party Changes *[Prague Radio]* 12
Defense Spokesman Denies 'High Combat Readiness' *[Prague TV]* 12
Urbanek's Views on 'Antisocialist Forces' *[TRIBUNA 15 Mar]* 12
Urbanek 26 Nov CPCZ Presidium Speech Reported *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Nov]* 13
Urbanek Addresses National-Level Party Aktiv *[Prague Radio]* 15
More on Vasil Mohorita News Conference *[CTK]* 17
Adamec Speech to Nation on Current Developments *[Prague TV]* 18
Federal Assembly Holds Joint Session in Prague 20
Blazej Speaks t0 Assembly *[Prague Radio]* 20
Ladr Addresses Assembly *[Prague Radio]* 21
Hykova Speech on Party *[Prague Radio]* 23
CPCZ Role, National Front Considered *[Prague Radio]* 24
Defense Minister Addresses Assembly *[Prague Radio]* 24
Deputy Ceska Speaks *[Prague Radio]* 25
Lucan Remarks at Assembly *[Prague Radio]* 26
Session Ends; To Reopen 12 Dec *[Bratislava Radio]* 26
Situation Declaration Adopted *[CTK]* 26
Federal Government Meets, Agenda Detailed *[Prague Radio]* 27
Civic Forum, 'Public Against Violence' Meet *[Prague Radio]* 27
Civic Forum Spokesman on Political 'Crisis' *[Prague Radio]* 27
Civic Forum To Begin CSSR Radio Broadcasts *[CTK]* 27
Army Tells Civic Forum About Troublesome Members *[CTK]* 28
Slovak Revival Party Central Committee Session *[Prague Radio]* 28
Slovak Education Minister Meets With Students *[Prague Radio]* 28
Republic Culture Ministers Release Banned Works 28
Slovak Minister Koys *[CTK]* 28
Czech Minister *[Prague Radio]* 28
Slovak Deputy Premier Heckled at Mass Rally *[Bratislava TV]* 28
Slovak TU Council Speaks for Free TU Movement *[Bratislava Radio]* 29
Slovak Socialist Youth Union Meets in Bratislava *[Prague TV]* 29

Slovak Prosecutor General Issues Statement *[Bratislava Radio]* 29
Slovak Council Supports Change in Party Role *[Prague TV]* 30
Slovak Daily on Party's Current Position *[CTK]* 30
Slovak Union of Writers Presidium Resigns *[Bratislava Radio]* 30
Adamec Meets With Social, Political Groups *[CTK]* 31
Socialist Party Chairman on Urbanek Meeting *[CTK]* 31
Chairman Kucera Holds News Conference *[Prague Radio]* 31
Socialist Youth Presidium on Current Situation *[Prague Radio]* 31
CTK Notes Token General Strike in Slovakia 32
RUDE PRAVO on 27 Nov General Strike *[28 Nov]* 32
Student Committee Votes To Continue Strike *[Prague TV]* 33
Daily Doubts Authenticity of Tomasek Appeal *[Kliment in RUDE PRAVO 24 Nov]* 33
RUDE PRAVO on Necessity for Party Congress *[CTK]* 33
RUDE PRAVO Views Support for Reform *[CTK]* 34
New Party Demands Government's Resignation *[Prague Radio]* 34
Freedom Party Statement on 'Liberties' *[CTK]* 34
Youth Daily Censures Authorities *[Sevcik in MLADA FRONTA 22 Nov]* 34
Charter 77 Signatory Views Urbanek as 'Opening' *[Paris Radio]* 35

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Council of Ministers Rejects Reunification *[ADN]* 36
Krenz Signs Appeal To Preserve GDR Autonomy *[ADN]* 36
Group Issues Appeal To Preserve Autonomy *[ADN]* 36
Momper Cited on Kohl Reunification Speech *[ADN]* 37
NDPD Welcomes Kohl Confederation Plan *[Hamburg DPA]* 37
Commentary on Effects of Confederation on Peace *[Pahl in NATIONAL-ZEITUNG 23 Nov]* 37
Visas Only Available at Some Crossing Points *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 29 Nov]* 38
Commentator Apologizes for Prague Spring Invasion *[Leuschner on East Berlin Radio]* 38
Commentary Criticizes Romania's Ceausescu *[Albrecht in NEUE ZEIT 22 Nov]* 39
Daily Advocates Normal Relations With Israel *[ADN]* 39
Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky Visits for Talks 40
Vranitzky Arrives *[ADN]* 40
Meets Modrow *[ADN]* 40
Modrow, Vranitzky Comment *[ADN]* 41
Modrow Answers Questions *[Vienna Radio]* 42
Cooperation Discussed *[ADN]* 43
SED Holds Demonstration in Leipzig *[East Berlin Radio]* 43
New Forum Organizes Demonstrations in Towns *[ADN]* 43
New Forum Holds First Official Rally *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Nov]* 44
New Forum Briefs Press on Economic Discussion *[ADN]* 44
New Forum on Possible 'Electoral Alliance' *[ADN]* 44
Former Chairman Tisch Expelled From FDGB *[ADN]* 44
FDGB Submits Document on Trade Union Role *[ADN]* 45
SED Party Control Commission Meets *[ADN]* 45
'Democratic Departure' Plans Party Congress *[ADN]* 45
Green Party Spokesman Discusses Objectives *[ADN]* 46
LPDP's Raspe Calls for 'Radical Change' *[ADN]* 46
Gerlach Outlines Positions of LDPD *[ADN]* 47
Finance Minister Cited on Price Subsidies *[ADN]* 48
Writers Union Reinstates 9 Expelled Members *[ADN]* 48
Spokesman on Disruption of Embassy Activities *[ADN]* 48
Defense Minister Reasserts Role of Army *[ADN]* 48
Commentary Stresses Solidarity with Modrow *[Fahlenkamp in DER MORGEN 21 Nov]* 49
Parliament's Lack of Discussion Criticized *[Becker in NEUE ZEIT 21 Nov]* 50
Consumer Cooperatives Call for Independence *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21 Nov]* 50
Silence About Abuse of Power Criticized *[Fiedler in NEUE ZEIT 20 Nov]* 50
New Minister on 'Doctored' Statistics *[NEUE ZEIT 20 Nov]* 51
37 Applications Submitted for New Forum *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 18-19 Nov]* 51
Krenz Discusses Issues in TV Interview *[ADN]* 51
Krenz Discusses Honecker's Responsibility *[Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG 19 Nov]* 54

Krenz Discusses Policy Goals, 9 Oct Events *[Vienna TV]* 54
Further on Interview *[Vienna Radio]* 55
Krenz Cited on Ties With Honecker *[Hamburg DPA]* 57
Krenz Discusses Legal Achievements *[Moscow PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA Oct]* 57

HUNGARY

USSR's Yazov Briefs Nemeth on Pact Talks *[MTI]* 63
Comaneci in Switzerland 'At The Moment' *[Budapest Radio]* 63
Hungarian Political Grouping Formed in Bratislava *[Budapest Radio]* 63
Further Reportage on 26 Nov Referendum Results 63
Party Representatives Evaluate *[Budapest Radio]* 63
Consider Prospective Election Date *[Budapest Radio]* 64
HSP Views Talks *[MTI]* 64
Electoral Board Announces Results *[MTI]* 64
Interior Ministry, Police Officials Resign *[MTI]* 64
Szuros Witnesses Supreme Court Oath-Taking *[MTI]* 65
Nemeth Addresses Parliament Session *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 22 Nov]* 65
Social Democrats Rejoin Socialist International *[Budapest Radio]* 72
Workers Militia Property Under Inventory *[NEPSZAVA 16 Nov]* 72
Parties Appeal to Premier Over Budgetary Support *[Budapest Radio]* 73

POLAND

Government Statement on GDR Travel Restrictions *[Warsaw TV]* 74
Bulgarian 'Opening of the Gate' Viewed *[TRYBUNA LUDU 27 Nov]* 74
Mazowiecki's Moscow Speech to Soviet Poles *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 27 Nov]* 74
Mazowiecki Addresses Leningrad Intelligentsia *[PAP]* 76
USSR Vice Minister Addresses Soviet Poles *[PAP]* 77
Gorbachev Greets Polish-Soviet Society *[TRYBUNA LUDU 23 Nov]* 77
Sakharov Says Poland Ahead of USSR's Changes *[PAP]* 77
Austrian Police Beat Up, Wound Pole *[PAP]* 78
PZPR Condemns Moves Against Holiday *[PAP]* 78
Demonstration at Lenin Monument Ends *[Warsaw TV]* 79
Defense Minister Discusses Military Service *[Warsaw Radio]* 79

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Visits Industrial, Research Units *[AGERPRES]* 82
Ceausescu, Dascalescu Cable SFRY Leaders *[AGERPRES]* 83

YUGOSLAVIA

Gorbachev Overflies SFRY, Sends Greetings *[TANJUG]* 84
Public Meetings Banned in Slovenia From 30 Nov *[Belgrade Radio]* 84
Serbian SAWP Presidium Holds Conference 84
Call To Break Ties With Slovenia *[Belgrade Radio]* 84
Secretary on Slovene Meetings Ban *[Belgrade Radio]* 84
Belgrade Economic Chamber To Break Slovene Ties *[TANJUG]* 85
Further Commentary on 1 Dec Ljubljana Rally 85
Slovene Groups Denounce Meeting *[DELO 28 Nov]* 85
Stanovnik Condemns Meeting *[TANJUG]* 86
Internal Officials View Rally *[TANJUG]* 86
Nationwide Attendance at Ljubljana Rally 86
'About 4,000' From Kosovo *[TANJUG]* 86
'Several Thousand' Montenegrins *[TANJUG]* 86
Further on Attendance *[Belgrade Radio]* 87
Reportage, Commentary on Rally Cancellation 87
Kosovo Statement on Cancellation *[TANJUG]* 87
Kosovo Serbs Cancel Meeting *[Belgrade Radio]* 87
Rakovica Workers Not To March *[Belgrade Radio]* 88

Radio Welcomes Cancellation *[Dolnicar on Ljubljana Radio]* 88
Ljubljana Meeting Switched to Belgrade 1 Dec *[TANJUG]* 88
Youth Demand Free Elections at Skopje Meeting *[Belgrade Radio]* 88
Daily Publishes Information on Officials' Pay *[BORBA 1-3 Nov]* 89

Hungary's Lushev on 'Depoliticization' of Pact

LD2911185289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] First, on the detailed political reports, we broadcast a despatch by Laszlo Gardai from the Warsaw Pact defense ministers news conference:

[Gardai] The consultations ended earlier than planned but the news conference started later than envisioned because, before it, [USSR Defense Minister] General Yazov acquainted Miklos Nemeth with the negotiations in the Budapest Parliament. In return, the Hungarian prime minister informed the commanders of the Warsaw Pact armies about the country's political and economic situation. Miklos Nemeth said, among other things, that the Warsaw Pact must be strengthened both politically and militarily.

During the 2 days of consultation, an agreement on the technical details of implementing the so-called defense doctrine was signed. The condition of the change is that this should take place in the spirit of mutual security, equality, and with the necessary guarantees, General Lushev [commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact joint armed forces] said at the news conference. Despite the fact that political changes in the various East European countries are different, there is a need for cooperation, he said.

In reply to a question, Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati said that the defense ministers had exchanged views about the East European changes too, but all of this took place only outside the agenda. The Hungarian defense minister did not mention difference of views.

On the other hand, the meeting discussed the celebration of the Warsaw Pact's 35th anniversary planned for next year.

Regarding the question of whether the depoliticization process, which has already begun within the Warsaw Pact, is being felt yet, the Soviet commander in chief answered with a decisive no, while the Hungarian defense minister put it this way: In this respect, significant differences still exist between the individual countries.

At the same time, the condition for a united Warsaw Pact can only be an army that is independent of national ideologies, General Lushev said.

Warsaw Pact Defense Committee Communique Viewed

LD2911223289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2146 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states attach great importance to the establishment of relations which are free of confrontation relations and include a constructive dialogue with NATO. A communique published in Budapest today at the end of a meeting of the Defense Ministers' Committee also points out that despite all the positive changes in East-West relations in the disarmament sphere, no fundamental change has yet been put into effect. The participants unanimously supported a structuring of the armies which will guarantee a reliable defense in the national framework and within the alliance.

Speaking to ADN, GDR Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann said they discussed how the armed forces should look following the new military doctrine adopted by the alliance in 1987. He pointed out that the political character of the Warsaw Pact has priority over military elements. This trend will continue to develop in the future. This has also been underlined in the meeting between the ministers and Hungarian head of government Miklos Nemeth.

Of course, the current changes in the Warsaw Pact countries was discussed, the minister said. The NVA [National People's Army] is on the brink of far-reaching military reform. This is a matter of refashioning the relationship between the people and the army. In the future, only decisions by the People's Chamber and the government will be decisive for the latter. They are aiming for a smaller but more modern and well-led army with new structures.

In this context, Minister Hoffmann announced that the first measures for improving the living conditions of conscripts will take effect in December. Included in this are new pass and leave regulations as well as the abolition of early morning sports. The army is also considering introducing the 5-day week. Very intensive work is in progress on forms of democratic consultation with soldiers.

Next Meeting With Turkey Planned for 9 Jan

AU3011111089 Sofia BTA in English
1037 GMT 30 Nov 89

["Joint Announcement"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—The ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Turkey have agreed, at the proposal of the Bulgarian side, to hold their next meeting on January 9, 1990, in Kuwait, instead of in November 1989, as it was agreed and announced after the first meeting held on October 30, 1989.

Comment on CSSR 'Changes,' Hungarian Vote

AU2911152789 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 27 Nov 89 p 4

["Postscript" by Captain Ivan Genov]

[Text] The changes in Czechoslovakia are increasing their pace in the direction of renewal. Evidence of this is provided not only by the comings and goings of members of the cadres at the top of the party and state hierarchies, but also by the fact that those who have taken the helm of power have declared their readiness for dialogue and in-depth fundamental reforms in the political, economic, and intellectual fields. Today's plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, during its discussion of topical political issues, will introduce further clarity in the sphere of the organizational changes, and it will also have to seek answers to a great number of other pressing issues. In the qualitatively new situation, the call by the students for the holding of a general strike today, 27 November, still remains in force. However, they for their part should also show a certain readiness for contacts and calm, constructive discussion about all of the problems that are undoubtedly of mutual interest, otherwise the nascent dialogue will not produce results of the kind that everyone is expecting.

The first results of the referendum in Hungary will become known late in the night and are extremely unlikely to be published in today's issue of the newspaper. The four answers of "yes" that are being pressed for by a number of newly formed or reactivated political forces in the country represent something in the nature of an ultimatum dictated by narrow party interests. The unjustified postponement of the presidential and parliamentary elections will add an additional measure of instability to sociopolitical life. The majority of those taking part in the referendum will probably find the right course in the whirlpool of political events, concepts, demands, and so forth, but this we will find out on 28 November, when the final results will be made known.

Sofia BZNS Members Critcize Party's Leaders

AU2811180589 Sofia BTA in English
1437 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 28 (BTA)—Members of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) in Sofia held meetings with the party's leadership in a sharply critical atmosphere, stressing the need to draft a new BZNS policy programme making the party an independent and equal partner of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in government. The participants agreed they were convinced that the existing practice of clearing the admission of new BZNS members with the respective BCP committees should be abandoned.

The incumbent BZNS leadership drew harsh criticism for its work and wait-and-see position after the November plenums of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP. The matter of urgent personnel changes in the leadership was raised sharply and categorically.

It was suggested that the National Assembly's Constitutional Amendments Commission drop the Article 1 provision on the leading role of the BCP.

The participants in the meetings heard an open letter, which appears in today's ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, from a 90-BZNS-member initiative group in support of restructuring.

The letter says that in 1948 the BZNS ceased to function as an independent political force and its basic structures were destroyed. The current party takes much of the responsibility for the disastrous condition of the Bulgarian countryside. "The party invariably welcomed and supported the 'April' model of Stalinist socialism, which proved disastrous for Bulgarian agriculture," the letter reads. "This found expression in forced cooperativization, unlawful land nationalisation, the establishment of agro-industrial complexes, the criminal designation of hundreds of villages as futureless, a barbarous handling of the land and the environment. We are also responsible for the ecological catastrophe."

The letter calls for an early convocation of the BZNS 36th Congress and raises the incumbent leadership's responsibility. "The party bureaucracy in office is an integral and essential part of the monopolist structures of power established under Vulko Chervenkov and Todor Zhivkov," the letter says. The manifestations of extreme conservatism and quasi-restructuring in the work of the BZNS Standing Committee and especially of BZNS Secretary Petur Tanchev, first vice president of the State Council, are singled out for special condemnation.

Agrarians Seek Power

AU2911202589

[Editorial Report] Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 28 November on page 3 carries two "Open Letters" by the "Initiative Group of Allied Agrarians in Support of Restructuring."

The first is a 1,500-word letter addressed at the "Meeting of the Administrative Council of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] and dated 19 November 1989. It begins with the following sentences:

"Comrades, the time of the lies is over. Our fear is dying. The moment of truth has come!"

The authors of the letter assert that the "BZNS must assume its responsibility for the political, economic, social, demographic, and intellectual crisis that has engulfed Bulgaria." They call for "real democracy" and "genuine pluralism." In this context they reject the "lie that there is a bi-party system in Bulgaria," and state: "What pluralism is there when the BZNS even does not have its own program?"

The authors assert that "since 1948 the BZNS has ceased to act as an independent political force," and point out the role of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] in restricting the admission of new members to the BZNS, and "deliberately narrowing the BZNS' social basis." Further on they point out the BZNS' role in "constantly praising and facilitating the implementation of the April model of Stalinist socialism, which was murderous for our agriculture."

The authors call for the "judicial rehabilitation of Nikola Petkov, Dimitur Gichev, and the other allied agrarians, who have been repressed because of their patriotic and democratic convictions." They attack the "wait-and-see position of the present BZNS leadership," and point out that "the uncritical support of all BCP decisions adopted under the leadership of Todor Zhivkov, who was proclaimed 'a great son of the Bulgarian people' by the present BZNS secretary poses on the agenda the issue of the responsibility of the present BZNS leadership to its members."

In conclusion, the authors call for the rapid convocation of the 36th BZNS congress, and for turning the BZNS into a "worthy coalition partner."

The second is a 800-word letter addressed at the "Members of the BZNS" and dated 25 November 1989. The authors point out that the contents of the 19 November 1989 letter "has been concealed by the BZNS Permanent Board." In this context they stress the "intensification of anti-democratic tendencies" and "manifestations of radical conservatism and pseudo-restructuring in the activity of the Permanent Board, and especially, Petur Tanchev, BZNS secretary," and say:

"The attempts to fully attribute the responsibility to Todor Zhivkov's regime have no real value now. The present bureaucracy of the BZNS is an integral and full-fledged part of the monopoly structures created during the periods of Vulko Chervenkov and Todor Zhivkov. Therefore our higher leadership has neither the moral nor the political right to determine the destiny of the BZNS at this fateful time.

"We think that the BZNS secretary has fully used up his share of time and confidence."

The authors of the letter call for the formation of "a special and independent commission, which will check the financial and material situation of the BZNS and will use glasnost in publishing the results of its work!" In addition they call for "opening a rubric in ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME which will carry alternative opinions and visions."

650 Declare Hunger Strike in Vratsa Prison

AU2911142889 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 28 Nov 89 p 6

[Text] Vratsa, 27 November (TRUD correspondent Valeri Vedov)—This morning 650 prisoners in Vratsa prison refused to work and declared a hunger strike. They demanded a meeting with representatives of the central mass media in order to present their claims. Such a meeting was arranged with the aid of the Prosecutor's Office and the prison administration. The main demands of the convicts are as follows: a review of the Penal Code; mitigation of sentences; an amnesty that should also extend to those convicted of criminal offenses; and abolition of the death penalty. Remand prisoners who have been waiting in the prison for long periods for indictment or sentencing also presented demands. The convicts stated that they have no claims relating to internal prison discipline or the attitude of the administration. A petition addressed to the Legislative Commission of the National Assembly was read, in which the prisoners' claims are set out. The prisoners' appointed representatives, referring to their support for glasnost and restructuring, declared that they will stop their hunger strike when information about their actions and demands is published and broadcast.

Another Hunger Strike

AU3011085089 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 29 Nov 89 p 4

[Report by Konstantsa Ancheva and Dimitur Statkov: "In Sofia Prison"]

[Text] On 20 November, 632 convicts serving their sentences have announced a hunger strike at Sofia's Central Prison. Through the prison's administration they have sent a letter to Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the National Assembly, the Committee on Defense of Human Rights, and the Chief Prosecutor's Office. They demand the following: reducing the upper limit of penalties; ceasing to sentence people under 16 years of age, women above 55 years, and men above 60 years (except in special cases); reducing the possibility of "extending" prison sentences, which have been imposed according to the law; and introducing the practice of early release from prison, when objective conditions for this exist. The issue of adopting a partial amnesty has been posed to the government. A protest against the death penalty has been expressed. In addition, the prisoners demand the abolishing of Articles 108, 109, 110, and 11 of the Penal Code; reducing the period of the preliminary investigations; and providing legal defense from the moment of indictment. Many issues related to conditions in the prison have been brought up. In this context the striking prisoners have

proposed to form two commissions: a citizens' commission, which will review the conditions of serving the sentences, and a judicial commission, which will review the personal aspect of the sentences imposed on the prisoners. Some of the prisoners consider themselves victims of judicial mistakes, or that they have been sentenced for committing crimes against the state.

Journalists came to the prison in connection with the prisoners' demand to arrange a meeting with the mass media representatives and at the invitation of the administration of Sofia prison. The following persons attended the meeting: corresponding member Boris Spasov, deputy chairman of the National Assembly Legislation Commission and chief editor of OBSHTESTVO AND PRAVO magazine; Evtim Stoimenov, first deputy minister at the Ministry of Justice; Yuli Bakhnev, responsible secretary of the Committee on Defense of Human Rights; Nikola Stoychev, head of the Chief Prosecutor's Office Department of Penalties and Trials; and General Manov, deputy director of the People's Militia. The representatives of responsible departments who attended the meeting assured the striking prisoners that the majority of their demands have been included in the amendments to the Penal Code, the Law on Serving Sentences, and the code on its application. At the forthcoming 14 December session of the National Assembly the people's representatives will review the most pressing problems. A draft law on compassionate amnesty is being prepared.

The prisoners stated that they will stop their strike after the publication of their demands.

Environmental Activists Meet Ruse Citizens

AU3011093289 Sofia BTA in English 0826 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Ruse, November 30 (BTA)—The meeting of the Ruse public with Neshka Robeva, rhythmic gymnastics coach, Svetlin Rusev, MP for Ruse, and Petur Beron, of the Ecoglasnost movement, on the problems of restructuring was broadcasted live on the local radio.

It was pointed out that the public should develop democratically, law abiding, and the leaders who are not capable of revolutionary actions must resign. A number of times those present in the hall pointed out that the Ruse public will help the new leadership when it lives up to its expectations.

Special attention was paid to the question about the ecology of Ruse. Requests were raised for constant and full glasnost on eco-questions, for revealing and denouncement of those to blame for the pollution of the environment. In their statements the citizens of Ruse pointed out that their city must become a regional centre, that the MPs who have betrayed the trust of the public must resign. The participants rejected the attempts for splitting the intelligentsia and the working class, as well as the occupation of leading post by already discredited persons.

A letter by the writer Georgi Mishev was read at the meeting. Neshka Robeva acquainted the participants with the program declaration of the Ecoglasnost movement.

The participants in the meeting sent an address to the forthcoming plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. The address calls for wisdom and foresight, decisiveness and brevity in the decision taking concerning the fate of Bulgaria. The Ruse public is convinced that only the real people's rule, realized through free parliament and controlled by democratic laws is, capable of taking this country out of the crisis. And the road to this people's rule is through de-monopolization of power and property.

Sofia Communists State Position, Goals

AU2611205889 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 21 Nov 89 pp 1,3

[Vasil Gadzhanov article: "What Sofia's Communists Are Fighting For"]

[Excerpts] Today we Sofia Communists do not retreat from socialism but from our own illusions, from the myths that have been created.... We shall retreat in order to advance with even more confident steps, so that we may become stronger and more firmly resolved. We are changing our strategy not in order to betray socialism, but in order to replace an outdated model that has outlived its time, a model established by the command-administrative system. We are replacing it with a new model which is much more viable, more active, more humane, and more attractive, a model that conforms with the new historical conditions. [passage omitted]

This is what Sofia Communists are fighting for!

Along with this, we are fully aware that we can no longer live and work as we did in the past. [passage omitted)0

The memory of the martyrs and of arbitrary, unlawful actions should be revered as sacred. The truth about them should become our asset and form our experience. What kind of intellectual education for our youth can we talk about if important periods of our national history are covered by a cloak of silence?

Ethical values can be taught only by telling the truth. A man educated in the spirit of truth thinks truthfully and searches for the truth. Those who grow up with lies think in ready-made cliches, and do not care whether they are told the truth or not.

People who serve an idea are not pursuing personal profit or special privileges; they can be sincere even when they make mistakes.

What are the people who are part of us thinking and saying? They say that our society is sclerotic and that it should return to the original people's virtues.

They say that we are now living through the first days of real democracy, that we need real democracy, real political

culture, and genuine democratic spirit today, that by revoking Article 273 of the Penal Code one of the barriers preventing pluralism and glasnost has been removed.

They say that free elections should be held and that the full sovereignty of the National Assembly, which had been depersonalized, should be restored.

They say that our country needs a strong government and that those who are guilty of the present socioeconomic situation should be held responsible.

The new socioeconomic and political atmosphere prevailing in our country and to which we are not accustomed evokes sharp controversies and clashes of opinions. Different social groups which do not share the same interests have emerged.

People have great expectations for the future. We heard the following opinions:

"We are all responsible, but some people have the greatest responsibility...." [passage omitted]

"Our entire sociopolitical life was distorted by one-man power. Even our language was distorted."

"The slogan: 'Elections Now' is premature, because we do not know yet who the most worthy people are, who deserves to be elected as people's deputies."

"Neither denouncements, nor praise express real concern about the situation. A sober analysis in two directions is called for, real actions are required....so that the stores may be filled with supplies."

"The main requirement today is not a servile unanimity, but the consolidation of all healthy forces. Unity for the sake of Bulgaria's future is called for." [passage omitted]

We have lived to see the time when not telling the truth is considered a crime. Now everyone should speak the truth, a truth that will be sometimes difficult to reveal, that shall require great efforts. Nevertheless, we shall continue to discuss it and write about it in an open-minded and democratic manner by exchanging and comparing different opinions and arguments. [passage omitted]

Some people are trying to identify the errors of individual groups and leaders—errors that involved fateful and tragic consequences indeed—with the entire party and to address unjustified accusations against the activities, the dedicated efforts, and the moral integrity of thousands of Communists.

Today more than ever confidence is the basis, the iron-strong foundation of national unity and of social activities. It is for this reason, precisely, that we are obliged to implement measures aimed at restoring confidence. We are obliged to restore realism, but not by decrees, only by legal documents approved by parliament, namely by the people. Our country needs new personalities, new men. The leading positions should be assumed by people who are capable of conducting a nationwide dialogue. It is very important to achieve that every leader whom we elect, who receives our vote of confidence, should be one of us and remain one of us!

We are now learning to practice democracy and we should continue to do so. We must look forward to the future, we need love and confidence for our future initiatives.

A new era is beginning in our country today. We are aware of the fact that the beginning shall be difficult, but the changes that we are intending to implement in the future should respond to the basic interests of Sofia citizens and of all Bulgarians. [passage omitted]

Let us devote our efforts so that living deeds may prevail over bureaucracy, talent may prevail over mediocrity, and truth may prevail over formalism and demagogy!

This is what Sofia's Communists are fighting for!

Dyulgerov Discusses Role of Trade Unions

AU2711184389 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 20 Nov 89 p 1

[Interview with Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, by TRUD Editor in Chief Damyan Obreshkov; date not given: "Defense is the True Name of Trade Unions"]

[Text] [Obreshkov] Comrade Dyulgerov, as we see, we have reached a turning point. The time for sincere revelations, and perhaps even for repentence has come. I am asking you for a frank conversation on the state and future prospects of the trade unions. Let us conduct this interview in the spirit of truth, in the spirit of human relations.

[Dyulgerov] This is also my own wish. Let us try to do so.

[Obreshkov] You have been the leader of the Bulgarian trade unions for nearly 9 years. Is there anything you regret, or anything that troubles you?

[Dyulgerov] I sincerely regret, I really regret that we were unable to renew the trade unions, that they were not properly restructured. This feeling of mine is even enhanced by the fact that we devoted serious efforts to this intention over all these years, but we failed. I am disturbed by the fact that, under the present circumstances, regardless of all the explanations I may provide, I will hardly sound totally convincing.

[Obreshkov] Let us be more specific....

[Dyulgerov] I would like to cite the most recent example in this respect. At the beginning of 1989, we prepared a totally new view of the trade unions, or at least we thought so. To put it briefly, it was our intention to ensure an independent role and a strong position for the trade unions in our society; we intended to establish an organization that would be truly capable of defending the working people's interests. We were aware that the old trade unions had exhausted their possibilities and

lost the people's confidence, that they had become obedient servants of the government, and that the people were alienated from them.

[Obreshkov] In reading this statement of yours, someone could naturally ask whether Dyulgerov has not invented these things retroactively, by purposefully attributing them to the past.

[Dyulgerov] There is documentary proof of this. The documents in question were discussed and adopted by the Trade Union Central Council Bureau in March 1989. This was a platform for the renewal of the trade unions, which I would not renounce even today. I even think that we could publish it. As a matter of fact, I think that this would be the final proof confirming that I am not inventing any retroactive stories.

[Obreshkov] What happened to this platform, why has everyone kept silent about it since March, and why was no action taken in this respect?

[Dyulgerov] To put it frankly, this is a painful question for me. It is part of the influence of the one-man power that prevailed in our country in those days. I would ask you to spare me the details, because I was greatly affected by all this. When I submitted this document I was told that the platform was too unusual, that it could be fowarded for discussion only if it were to receive Todor Zhivkov's preliminary blessing. I met him, and in a 3-hour conversation I read and explained the document to him line by line. Since that time I have heard nothing more about this platform and I know as much as you about what happened to it. Later, I learned that Zhivkov had accused us of trying to establish a second center of power, something like an opposition party.

A few weeks ago, after overcoming an illness, I resumed my work and addressed to him the request that he should promote the reform. I was told by Zhivkov's notorious office that such a conversation with me would take place immediately following the 10 November Plenum. Thank God the conversation could not take place.

[Obreshkov] Since we are dealing with the day of 10 November, what would you like to say about the recent developments resulting from it?

[Dyulgerov] As to the plenum and the changes involved, the stand of the trade unions, including my own, was expressed in the Central Council declaration. As to the recent events, people are correct in saying that they represent a new liberation of Bulgaria. As a matter of fact, a personal dictatorship which caused great harm to all spheres of our social life and destroyed all initiative has collapsed. We all share the general relief and we are all rejoicing, because hope is returning. A man capable of rallying the country's social forces now stands at the head of the party and state, and this was definitely confirmed by recent facts.

[Obreshkov] We are really justified in rejoicing at the recent events, but the general satisfaction is marred by a feeling of great concern for our current difficulties. Can you describe the trade unions' evaluation of these facts?

[Dyulgerov] Our evaluation does not coincide with the official statistical data and differs from the political accountability reports. We do not believe these data and it is by no means accidental that at the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Trade Unions we decided to establish our own system of investigating the living standard conditions. The first research results already showed a gloomy picture, they revealed that large social groups and strata of our population are living under difficult conditions and even in poverty. Two- thirds of the population have a monthly income below 140 leva, which is beneath the minimum living standard. Half of the pensioners, namely over 1 million people, live on a monthly income that does not exceed 100 leva. The wages remain unchanged, while the real incomes decrease. The wages of medical workers, teachers, trade workers, employees in the food and light industry branches, and agriculture—generally speaking, the wages of all those who feed and clothe us, who take care of the people's health and education—are really disgraceful. Those who earn their living by honest labor are living in difficult conditions, while at the same time some other people managed to amass great wealth from speculation, corruption, theft, and misappropriation.

Money is important, but the more important problem is that even with a little money you can hardly purchase the bare necessities. People are concerned because the situation is steadily deteriorating. The market situation, the state of commodity supplies are the priority issues we are facing today. This situation is the greatest danger threatening the restructuring process as a whole. Neverthleless, let us not delude ourselves, as we did until recently, that by means of additional stimuli and incentives the supplies will automatically be delivered to our market.

What we need is a complete reorganization of the economy that should be entirely focused on man's needs. It is precisely from this point of view that we should consider our production potential and establish what it actually reperesents. This is how the current situation can be described: 83.4 percent of the basic production funds belong to the "A" group, which means that they produce the means of production, while only 16.6 percent are working for the market and for the people's needs. This is the result of blindly following dogmas and of obeying arbitrarily imposed "priorities and breakthroughs" in our socioeconomic development. Such is the situation: The major part of investments, foreign exchange, materials, raw material resources, and manpower was wasted on production itself in the production sector. It will be unbelievably difficult and time-consuming to introduce a radical change in this respect....

[Obreshkov] I am aware that you can cite many more arguments and facts to illustrate this picture. However, is it not true that the trade unions actually participated in

implementing all this? Do they not have their share of responsibility for the situation?

[Dyulgerov] Naturally, we are not trying to evade reesponsibility, because we expressed our opinions on every annual and 5-year plan. Nevertheless, this was a formal participation. We cannot justify ourselves by citing our partial requests related to the most crucial social problems. The truth is that we did not have the courage and the power to say the main thing, namely to ask: On what is the state wasting the money earned by the people? As a matter of fact, you know that such questions were not asked at the National Assembly either, where decisions adopted in advance actually became laws. The trade unions were not expected to pronounce opinions and stands on the plan, but to mobilize the working people for its implementation. Any attempt to submit more substantial social demands was suppressed by the inevitable threat that the trade unions might be accused of consumerism.

Generally speaking, as far as the question of planning is concerned, I think that we cannot hope for a total dismantling of the administrative-command system as long as we have not totally abolished the present method of planning.

[Obreshkov] It appears from your statements that you were constantly obliged to deal with certain factors, authorities, and situations.... Are there no laws to establish the necessary guarantees?

[Dyulgerov] If we are talking about laws, a law, namely the labor code, does exist in this respect. However, this is the paradoxical situation. We have a labor code which was developed on the basis of nationwide discussion and which was widely supported. I was surprised that during my visit to China a translation of this code into the Chinese language, published in an edition of 50,000 copies, was presented to me. Nevertheless, in our country the code was subjected to attack only 1 day after its adoption. Attempts were made to emasculate the code by non-legislative administrative documents and even by telexes. Let us cite an example. Grisha Filipov one day addressed the Ruse aktiv and declared: There is no such thing as a labor code, there are no trade unions! A whole "theory" of "revolutionary legislation" was invented, which even compromised the Bulgarian Constitution with two declarations and a series of decrees.

What were we doing in the meantime?

We protested dozens of times to the highest-ranking organs. We insisted that the labor code should be given a chance. We called attention at the fact that, if the code were not applied, arbitrary actions would interfere with solving the people's vital problems. The trade unions were relegated to a state of weakeness which was quite intentional. The strong position which the labor code had envisaged for them and the revival of activities which emerged, especially during the election of economic managers, disturbed the leaders of the nomenklatura, who were afraid of losing their power.

[Obreshkov] If I understand you correctly, all this means that, since nothing had changed—in spite of all your efforts, including the adoption of the labor code which we defined as a new constitution—the situation was hopeless for you.

[Dyulgerov] The situation is not hopeless, but it appears that the way out is different from what we originally envisaged. We tried to change the trade unions within the framework of the command-administrative system. The radical solution is a different one. It requires that the system be destroyed.

[Obreshkov] As Comrade Petur Mladenov declared at the November Plenum, the main task of restructuring is to destroy the command-administrative system. Does this mean that real trade unions will finally exist in Bulgaria?

[Dyulgerov] I will answer this question in the following manner: When we started work on the trade union platform, which happened at the beginning of 1989, the first text we conceived and wrote reads as follows:

"The trade unions today are facing a decisive choice and this is required from every point view, namely from political, social, historical, and international points of view, but primarily from the point of view of the working people's wishes and expections. The question is that the trade unions should either become an organization serving the people's interests and the requirements of time, or be rejected as an organization which is unfit to implement its real goals. If we consider the situation sensibly, we must admit that the urgent changes do not allow any delays, or partial measures. Any underestimation of the problem and any delayed reaction are likely to result in considerable difficulties not only for our trade unions, but for all our society. A correct political insight and approach to the situation and courage in our actions and solutions are expected from us."

[Obreshkov] This statement sounds quite courageous and radical indeed, especially considering the time at which it was pronounced and the results it produced. Can you tell me what principles are vested in this document, which I would call a trade union charter, if I may.

[Dyulgerov] Our initial concept will undoubtedly be subject to further developments, especially considering the newly emerging sociopolitical situation. Nevertheless, the principles of authentic trade unionism that were elaborated and tested in our country and in the worldwide trade union movement remain unchanged. They require the following conditions for the trade unions: independence from political, state, and economic structures; autonomy, and sovereignty of trade union organizations; voluntary membership, and freedom of association; democratic principles prevailing over the whole organization; solidarity in defending common demands and interests; implementation of trade union activities based on the law; open-mindedness and glasnost in trade union stands, proposals, and demands. Last but not least, let us mention the most important thing: All these

conditions should serve the trade unions in implementing their mission which is to defend the interests of their members.

[Obreshkov] Comrade Dyulgerov, it appears from all your statements that the trade unions will have to earn new confidence among the working people.

[Dyulgerov] As a matter of fact, a crisis of confidence does exist. The trade union members have been alienated from the organization and are disappointed in it. This is by no means surprising, since they expect the trade unions to defend them, and defense was precisely what the trade unions were the last to grant them. It is evident that the trade unions will earn the people's confidence only when they have proved their real capacity for protecting the working people's rights and interests.

To earn this confidence will not be easy, because this does not depend solely on the trade unions. History is very instructive in this respect. Whenever the trade unions have tried to manifest themselves as an organization which actively represents and defends the working people's interests, they were immediately attacked. Every trade union leader who has tried to do so has been attacked, reprimanded, offended, and neglected.

Naturally, we should make an exception for the period of Georgi Dimitrov's leadership when, in his own words, the trade unions were the basic pillar of people's democracy. Later on, Vulko Chervenkov asked the famous question: "Against whom should the trade unions defend the working people under socialism?" which has remained valid to this day. Older people remember how Todor Zhivkov, as early as in 1961, destroyed the trade union leadership just because it dared to raise the question of the social problems concerning the working people. At that time the trade unions were diverted from their real role, propelled in an erroneous direction, and relegated to a sidetrack, where they were kept for over 3 decades.

[Obreshkov] All right; you are talking about defense, but with what means should it be implemented?

[Dyulgerov] Trade unions in civilized and democratic countries have means such as dialogue, negotiations, agreements, alternative programs, and contracts, and, of course, they can exert pressure when all other means have been exhausted. We are familiar with this experience, but so far we have lacked the courage and skill to apply it. This is how we should act under the changing circumstances.

The procedure of settling labor conflicts needs a normative system. A reliable mechanism is required that should be a prophylactic against emerging disputes and conflicts by means of a series of dialogues, negotiations, and arbitration, with the participation of the trade unions and the court of justice, while strikes are to be used only in extreme situations, when all other means and possibilities of settlement have been exhausted.

[Obreshkov] You declared yourself in favor of trade union independence from political, state, and economic institutions. It is the custom today that the majority of trade union leaders should be members of party, state, and economic organs. You are a candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and member of the State Council yourself. Do you consider this compatible with trade union independence?

[Dyulgerov] I think that this practice is subject to revision. It is a question of principle and not of personalities.

[Obreshkov] There has been much talk about pluralism in trade unions lately. What is your opinion? What is your approach to "Podkrepa" which has recently declared itself a trade union?

[Dyulgerov] It is my innermost conviction that trade union pluralism does not lead to anything positive. Worldwide experience has shown this. The strongest trade unions are those that are united and not those that are disunited. Some countries which have experienced and overcome trade union pluralism are returning to united trade unions. Naturally, I am a realist and understand that in certain socialist countries trade union pluralism is not an accidental phenomenon. It emerged in order to fill the gaps in trade union activities which the official trade unions themselves have opened.

The Bulgarian trade unions are in favor of a dialogue and cooperation with all organizations, as long as it serves the working people's interests. This is how I would like to close our interview. The most urgent requirement today is to unite all forces of our society, to rally the people's energies and initiatives for the implementation of real restructuring and renewal. I am convinced that Bulgaria has a chance to accomplish restructuring and find a way out of the difficult situation without any major social perturbations. Let us be realistic and remember that work is the only means of rescue.

'Alarming Trends' in Foreign Firms Cited

AU2311093189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by Engineer Ruslan Shopov: "Benefit, Yes! But for Whom?"]

[Text] Economic activity by foreign individuals is one of the forms of economic activity established and regulated by Decree 56 and the regulations for its application. As early as last summer, it was not difficult to get the impression that this activity is evidently emerging as one of the most attractive forms in the sphere of trading in hard currency at the resort complexes in the heat of the summer tourist season. In Zlatni Pyasutsi, for example, the one-person company "Express Color," providing photographic services, which advertises in French and offers, according to its advertisement of 29 July 1989, "excellent conditions for work and accommodation," is managed by a Mr Yoncho Yonchev. This gentleman, apart from everything else, takes upon his own shoulders the worries connected with securing the photographic specialists he needs. However, as it becomes clear, the

French businessman was not previously informed that, as well as his general obligations regarding legalizing his activity, he also has the immutable obligation to arrange labor law relationships with Bulgarian citizens in accordance with Bulgarian legislation.

Like Mr Yonchev, his wife, who is the proprietor of a hard currency store selling beach clothing and accessories, is also a supplier of imported goods and services within the framework of foreign currency trading, on the basis of consignment contracts concluded. Balkantourist provides the necessary trading premises and employees, and it seems that everything is in order. However, this is not quite true. The foreign businessmen in question, as well as other colleagues of theirs, speculating with the comparatively low wages paid to the Bulgarian workers from the tourism field, generously promise payment "cash in hand" and "in foreign currency." Promises that perhaps they have no intention of fulfilling, but which they cannot be obliged to fulfill, because no written agreements have been signed. In any case, some of the Bulgarian citizens are appointed by Balkantourist. However, the foreign suppliers become illegal contractors on the sly, requiring certain of our credulous fellow countrymen to work up to 14 hours in individual cases, including at night, in return for what is promised to them.

The administrative management in the sphere of tourism, the trade unions, and the competent state labor protection and inspection organs all bear some responsibility for all this. The first thing that strikes one is the low level of control, but it is much more important to look for the roots of the problem, because such alarming trends directly affect the achievements of the socialist state. The matter at issue is that the observations described above reveal certain more general problems arising from the provisions of Decree No. 56 and the regulations for its application. According to these legal documents, Bulgarian citizens are from the very start placed in a more unfavorable position as compared to foreigners carrying out independent economic activities on Bulgarian territory. As a result, not only our own citizens, but also a number of state enterprises in the field of trade and services are placed in positions of unequal competition, compared with the foreign businessmen.

The purely economic loss from this emerging situation may be looked for in various directions. First of all, there should be no doubt that foreign physical persons who start up in business on the Black Sea coast during the active season will be no less interested than many Bulgarian citizens in seeking easy and quick economic results, but without the intention of further developing and expanding the relevant activities. It is therefore very unlikely that one may expect long-term investment on Bulgarian territory from the individual economic activity of foreign physical persons. At the same time, the scale of their operations is almost such that it is quite possible for them to be carried out by small or medium-sized state and municipal companies or associate companies of Bulgarian citizens. However, for the time being this is impossible, because of the restrictions on trading in foreign currency applying to associate and one-person companies of Bulgarian citizens. The end result is that, after being taxed on their profits at the rate of 40 percent, the foreign citizens will export the remaining 60 percent of their hard currency receipts, whereas these would have been retained to some extent if the rules of the game placed all the players on equal terms.

However, the problem also has other dimensions, namely moral, social, and even technical ones. Moral, because, as it turns out, foreigners operating on Bulgarian territory enjoy much greater economic freedom than our own citizens—the very people whose initiative needs to be stimulated now, more than ever before. Social, because it is inadmissible for certain foreign citizens not only to have mutual labor relationships outside the framework of Bulgarian labor legislation, but also to work with our citizens in a way that in their own countries would cost them very dear, the very first time that a check was carried out by the relevant control organs.

The technical aspects again boil down to the financial and accounting control equipment used. An abundance of cash-accounting systems are offered on the world market, based on data-processing equipment. They do not permit a discrepancy of a single cent in the total flow of sales receipts. However, in the small hard-currency shops that we are talking about, one seldom sees even the most ordinary home-produced electronic cash registers. This creates ideal opportunities for some of our foreign partners to "fish in muddy waters." There is no doubt at all that they obtain benefit from this, but our own society also suffers a major loss.

Background to Bulgarian Changes Viewed

AU2411145489 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Nov 89 p 5

[Krzysztof Koprowski article: "Changes, But What Kind?"]

[Text] The development of the political situation in Eastern Europe reminds one of dominoes. The collapse of one regime is accelerating the collapse of the next one. Who would have imagined 2 months ago that the GDR, considered by many to be the kingpin of socialism, would crack, and that the Berlin Wall would develop holes like a Swiss cheese? Who would have thought that Erich Honecker, who has been accused of, among other things, ordering the shooting of demonstrators (which was not carried out, fortunately), would be removed so quickly and easily?

After the USSR, Poland, Hungary, and the GDR, changes have now begun in Bulgaria and are knocking on Czechoslovakia's doors. Even Albania has declared an amnesty. Only in Romania does power continue to have a strong foothold.

Some observers of the Sofia political scene think that the changes happening in Bulgaria are superficial and delayed, and have been forced upon the country. Better late than never. The great demonstrations organized by independent groups, one in front of the National

Assembly last Friday, and the other, involving 50,000 people, last Saturday, are absolutely unheard of in this country, which was peaceful for decades. The trial of Zhivkov, more democracy, and free elections are some of the things that were called for.

Slavcho Trunski, 65 years old, an old partisan, former minister of national defense, and an old ally of Zhivkov, is now accusing the former leader of nepotism and misappropriation of state funds. Speaking in the National Assembly, he said that Zhivkov "has turned Bulgaria into his own private fishing ground." Trunski claimed that whereas Tsar Boris had only 4 private residences, Zhivkov had as many as 30. In Trunski's opinion, setting up an international foundation named after Zhivkov's daughter, Lyudmila Zhivkova, who used to be minister of culture and died at the age of 41, was nothing other than a camouflage for seizing public money. In turn, Zhivkov's 37-year-old son, Vladimir, was fond of squandering millions of dollars.

I think that in the light of the changes and glasnost in Bulgaria, many hitherto unknown facts and scandals will soon see the light of day. Also, genuine economic figures should be presented, especially because the condition of the Bulgarian economy can have a major effect on the future of "preustroystvo" [Bulgarian word for perestroyka used], just like in the Soviet Union and, to a major extent, in Poland.

The Bulgarian market has never been excessively rich. Nevertheless, after observing it for 15 years, I can say that supplies in Bulgarian shops are improving slowly but surely. Unfortunately, the economic situation has begun to deteriorate very much recently, which has had an immediate effect on moods and has led to a radicalization of social attitudes. In the first 9 months of this year, shops failed to receive a series of basic food commodities. Without the usual "dobavka" ("addition") and "rushvet" ("bribe"), it is difficult to buy a television set, refrigerator, vacuum cleaner, or trendy clothes. The prices of many goods have also risen in recent months. The state of public services is catastrophic, even though private ventures have been allowed onto the market recently.

In industry, a fall in the extraction of coal and in the manufacture of steel, cement, and buses has been noted in recent years. Housing construction is in a very poor state. During the 9 months of this year, 2,224,900 apartments were finished, 24 percent less than during the same period last year. Only 34.3 percent of the annual construction plan was fulfilled.

Energy remains one of the chief barriers to economic growth. Repeated droughts over the past 10 years have largely immobilized hydroelectric power stations. After a very long delay, the fifth energy block in the Kozloduy nuclear power station has at last been completed (with the help of Poles), and the installation of the sixth bloc there is also experiencing major delays. The same applies to the construction of a second nuclear plant in Belene. The technical state of thermoelectric power stations (which burn mostly low-calorie lignite and thus pollute the environment) is also poor, the overhaul of generators and transmission networks is taking too long, and equipment is breaking down with increasing frequency.

The latest, though in many respects one of the biggest, factors hampering the Bulgarian economy is the exodus of 320,000 Bulgarians of Turkish descent. The two chief perpetrators of this exodus, Dimitur Stoyanov, former minister of internal affairs; and Milko Balev, were expelled from the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Politburo during the latest BCP Central Committee plenum. However, the shortage of manpower and social dissatisfaction caused by this exodus, plus the complicated demographic situation (apart from the Gypsies, the Turkish part of the population has the highest birthrate) have remained, and will no doubt continue to burden Bulgaria's domestic situation for some time to come. Last year, for example, the shortage of manpower meant that 17 percent of crops remained in the fields, and yet the situation is even worse this year.

Finally, the question of debts. Foreign debts have doubled over the past 2 years, reaching $7 billion at the end of 1988. Some sources say that the debts are now almost $10 billion, not a small sum for a country of 9 million people. The foreign trade structure is also turning out to have unfavorable proportions: Bulgaria has a trade surplus with the USSR, but a trade deficit with the West. One should also remember that 81 percent of foreign trade is with the socialist countries.

The deteriorating economic situation in Bulgaria is also connected with the change in the conditions governing trade with the USSR, for the Soviet Union has taken numerous privileges away from its small neighbor, especially supplies of chief crude oil, which the Bulgarians have been processing and selling for hard currency on world markets.

As we see, there are many reasons behind the worsening situation in Bulgaria, and a lot has contributed to the increase in social dissatisfaction. The departure of 78-year-old Zhivkov and the arrival of 53-year-old Petur Mladenov has opened the way to profound changes. However, one should note that the opposition considers Mladenov to be a man of Zhivkov, jointly responsible for the country's condition, and not presenting much hope for the changes Bulgaria needs. An anonymous Bulgarian diplomat in Warsaw told me that Mladenov is a man of the transitional period, and his only task is to "clear the foreground."

Nevertheless, during the first few days of his new office, the new party chief, who stressed that the country's future development is only possible along the path of socialism and with a dominant communist party, met with opposition groups, and led them to understand that he wants to expand the basis of national accord considerably. Asked about free elections in an interview for a

French paper, Mladenov said that they are possible, and spoke out in favor of holding them.

Further steps by him were to make changes to the Politburo and Central Committee, from which as many as 23 people bade farewell, including Zhivkov's son. Also, eleven intellectuals who were once expelled from the BCP had their membership restored.

The Bulgarian reforms are slowly picking up speed, though it is still difficult to determine their path and permanence. But because Bulgaria has been one of the Kremlin's staunchest allies and sympathizers, one can say without fear of error that the new team in Sofia, now dominated by people in Gorbachev's generation, will adopt many of the reforms taking place under the Soviet perestroyka and glasnost, and adapt them to Bulgarian conditions.

USSR's Gremitskikh Interviewed on Party Changes

LD2511183889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Yuriy Gremitskikh, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, answered questions today from a CTK correspondent concerning the results of the CPCZ Central Committee session. He stressed at that time that the decisions being made in fraternal socialist countries are internal decisions which are being done by the political leaders of sovereign states. The main wish and interest of the Soviet Union is for these decisions to benefit the further development and renewal of socialism. Gremitskikh hopes our new party leader, Comrade Karel Urbanek, will find solutions corresponding to the demand and wishes of the people, and for the Czechoslovak Communists in cooperation with the people to overcome the present difficulties.

The Soviet spokesman also answered a question on how he sees the events in Czechoslovakia in the context of European socialist countries and the European process as a whole. He stressed that these are dramatic and difficult events. They are worrying many people in friendly countries and also in the West. It is necessary, Gremitskikh said, for the reforms which are being declared and implemented in East European countries to lead to political, economical, and psychological stability. He then called illusory the view that deep reforms can be carried out without stability in individual countries on the whole European continent, without stability between East and West. Reforms require stability and at the same time they have to serve this stability, the Soviet spokesman stressed.

The CTK correspondent then asked that one of the points of the resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee session in Prague declares loyalty to the alliance obligations with the Soviet Union and obligations which Czechoslovakia has undertaken within the CEMA framework and within the Warsaw Pact. What did Yuriy Gremitskikh have to say in this connection.

The Soviet spokesman expressed deep satisfaction with the fact that our new party leadership has adopted such an important resolution at the session. He noted that in making any kind of decision, in all internal political changes, the preservation, strengthening, and further development of cooperation and friendship between socialist countries has to be the center of attention in all socialist countries. This cooperation and this friendship is needed for the development of our economies and cultures and for the preservation of peace and stability in Europe, Soviet spokesman, Gremitskikh stressed.

Defense Spokesman Denies 'High Combat Readiness'

LD3011010789 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Statement by Colonel Stanislav Pohoral, Federal Ministry of National Defense press spokesman, in Prague on 29 November—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens! During the last few days various reports have been circulating among our people about alleged efforts to misuse the Czechoslovak People's Army in the process of solving the complicated political situation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Not only our fellow citizens but also some Western radio stations and press agencies are taking part in circulating them. The dangerous character of these rumors is multiplied by the fact that they aim to create an atmosphere of fear.

I am authorized to say that reports of this kind are purposeful disinformation and are not based on fact. Their aim is to sever the link between the army and the people.

The regiments and units of the Czechoslovak People's Army were not and are not in a state of high combat readiness. They are fulfilling their usual exercise tasks in peace garrisons and military exercise areas according to prearranged plans for fighting and political preparation.

The command of the Czechoslovak People's Army, in the spirit of the principles of the defense military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states, strives to achieve high readiness of the army for securing the sovereignty of our state. Members of the Czechoslovak People's Army support efforts to overcome the problems accumulated in society and reject tendencies to disrupt the unity of the army and the people.

Urbanek's Views on 'Antisocialist Forces'

AU2411221789 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No. 11 15 Mar rpt Mar 89 pp 1, 3

[Article by Karel Urbanek, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic: "Towards the 18th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We value highly the fact that, thanks to the policy of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries, we avail ourselves of favorable international conditions for the implementation of restructuring. The attainment of an agreement on the elimination of two classes of nuclear arms, as well as the continuing Soviet-American dialogue, have eased international tension. This undeniably has a positive influence on cooperation between countries with different social systems. Our republic, too, takes an active part in this process, be it by its proposal for the creation of a zone of trust along the line between Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, the initiative to hold a conference of heads of government of the countries neighboring on Czechoslovakia on ways of tackling environmental problems, and other proposals. We fully support also the other peace proposals of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact aimed at a progress of the process of disarmament. We have demonstrated this in practice by our unilateral decision to reduce arms systems and the number of soldiers in combat units.

We would be blind, however, if we did not see that, concurrently with this positive development, there has occurred a marked activation of foreign emigre and anticommunist centers against our country. By their own activity and by instigating antisocialist forces in our country, these centers are trying to divert our attention from the implementation of the main tasks, with the aim of misusing restructuring and democratization for the destabilization of our social system.

The events of August and October last year and of January this year in Prague showed that domestic enemies associated in the "Charter 77" and other "independent" groups have gone over from covert exertion of influence toward attempts at overt confrontation. The heirs of post-February [1948] reactionaries, illegal church structures, and active protagonists of the revisionist and antisocialist policy of the years of crisis 1968-69 are teaming up with other people who, for one reason or another, reject socialism. They are trying to influence and win, in particular, inexperienced and young people, but also other strata of citizens. They would like to carry the open confrontation which they have provoked in Prague also into other parts of the republic. They have their mouths full of freedom, human rights, democracy, dialogue, observance of laws, but these slogans only serve them as a smokescreen to deceive the people, for political demagogy. In reality they seek the liquidation of the socialist gains won by the working people of our country in February 1948. After all, what else are demands such as the demand for the liquidation of the leading role of the workers class and the Communist party, for the restoration of private ownership, and for the establishment of "independent" trade unions, media, and publishing houses as well as attacks against the Army, the National Security Corps, and the People's Militia?

The struggle which these groups have declared on the socialist system is a struggle that is directed against workers, cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, against our peaceful life and social guarantees, against our country. Messrs Havel, Sabata, Lis, Benda, and others are not in the least concerned about democracy, freedom, the environment, dialogue on the platform of socialism, but their aim is to return to capitalism, with all the consequences this would have for our country.

Therefore, one must not make concessions to them [nelze jim ustupovat] but must expose their aims and clarify their policy by active and offensive political work. However, what is needed above all are deeds leading to the elimination and overcoming of shortcomings that we have and which we have also openly admitted, while at the same time showing ways of setting them right. It is precisely many of our shortcomings which the enemies misuse to discredit the policy of the party, state bodies, and the socialist system. The passivity of Communists and all honest people in the face of their conduct is inadmissible. Just as in February 1948 the reaction ran up against the firm bulwark of the party and the people, who resolutely rejected its gamble, we are firmly convinced that the current efforts of domestic and foreign hostile forces to slow down restructuring, whose aim is to strengthen socialism, will also run up against an equally firm and united barrier formed by the working people of our country. This is confirmed by the standpoints of labor collectives on the January events in Prague as well as by the spontaneous support which party, trade union, youth, and other bodies and organizations, plants, cooperatives, and individuals express for the Proclamation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium's Proclamation on the 41st Anniversary of Victorious February. The content of the Proclamation, which generalizes our path heretofore and shows its further prospects, provides the foundation for the political work of the party and the National Front at the present time.

The meeting of the tasks of social restructuring, the implementation of democratization, and the development of the economy require calm, order, and a creative atmosphere. Together with the consistent implementation of the approved principles and the activity and initiative of the people, these are the basic prerequisites to honorably come to terms with the requirements which the present time of a sharp turn places on us. We can engage in discussion, we can have different views, and there can even be clashes of opinions. However, the dialogue we are conducting, and shall conduct, must take place on socialist principles and in a calm, creative, and working atmosphere. Its purpose and aim cannot be anything but the strengthening and further development of socialism. He who is trying to divert the current efforts of the party and society to a platform which is pointed at weakening socialism and at the destabilization of our social system is excluding himself from the political life of our country and joining the ranks of those, whose aims the working people of our country have clearly rejected, in February 1948 as well as after the years of crisis 1968-69. [passage omitted]

Urbanek 26 Nov CPCZ Presidium Speech Reported

AU2911151089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Nov 89 p 1

["From the Report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Delivered by Comrade Karel Urbanek" at the body's extraordinary session in Prague on 26 November]

[Text] In the opening part of the report of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee Presidium, Comrade Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, stressed that the course of events and the precipitious developments of the political situation in our society also require this further session of the Central Committee. When assessing the past work of the party, he said that it has emerged how little was known of the real stances of the rank and file members. We did not pay attention to this despite the fact that the discussion at the preceding session intimated a considerable polarity of views also within the CPCZ ranks.

This, in particular, showed when resolving issues involving cadres. Therefore, one of the main tasks of our deliberations is to resolve precisely issues involving cadres. At the same time, our most important task is to determine a clear and intelligible orientation for the entire party in the immediate future.

On the basis of consultations and after listening to many views voiced at various party meetings and gatherings, the general secretary submitted for assessment a number proposals pertaining to cadres. The submitted proposals, he said further, create prerequisites for the work [delnost] of the body and markedly improve its composition. He again recalled that it would not be correct to accumulate functions by being a member of top bodies.

Further, the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary—on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and in harmony with the opinions of many party bodies and primary organizations—submitted the proposal to convene an extraordinary CPCZ Congress on 26 January 1990. We consider this to be absolutely necessary in the interest of strengthening the party's unity and ability to act, and to mobilize its forces in the current period. The centerpiece of the Congress' deliberations should be the formation of new highest party bodies. It is necessary that they be composed from comrades who enjoy the trust of the membership base and have a close contact with it, and are—precisely at present—willing to fight for the ideals of the party, socialism, the interests of the socialist fatherland and its people. In accordance with Article 50 b of the CPCZ Statutes, the elections of candidates will be carried out at the deliberations of the party's regional conferences.

The extraordinary Congress should assess the situation in the country and approve a concrete program for action for the period up to the 18th CPCZ Congress. Regarding an ordinary congress, we assume that it will be convened at the determined date.

Comrade Karel Urbanek further announced that—in accordance with the conclusions of the CPCZ Central Committee and the extraordinary session of the CSSR Government—a dialogue has begun with political parties, the Club For Socialist Revival—Obroda, and with representatives of the Civic Forum. The meetings have unequivocally revealed that a dialogue with them is possible and necessary at present. The Civic Forum is a reality today. Therefore, negotiations with those groups on seeking common solutions are the only way out of the present tense situation.

The CPCZ Central Committee general secretary recommended establishing on an open basis of the National Front a broad-based political coalition, a group with equal rights of political parties, the most important social organizations, and other civic associations whose concern is socialism. This political group should also be implemented at the level of republics, regions, districts, and localities.

He also recommended to immediately discuss, at the created coalition platform, proposals for the reconstruction of governments. The task is for political parties and nonparty members to be represented in governments.

The extraordinary CPCZ Central Committee session on Friday [24 November] made decisions about those and other issues. The first steps in that direction have already been taken. In this connection, the General Secretary recalled the standpoints he voiced in his speech carried by television.

Karel Urbanek said that the implementation of topical tasks which we discuss also requires a thorough and critical assessment of the party's ideological activity both within the party and externally. One must say openly that the ideological work is lagging. We must activate the entire ideological front for the solution of the present day political tasks. Communists in information media must mobilize their forces so that these instruments would step up their activity for the benefit of socialism. We also firmly believe that Communists active in the cultural and artistic front will not stand aside. In this respect we are aware that the party must change its present attitudes.

In order to strengthen the information and the activity of the party and its Central Committee, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium proposes to immediately establish the function of a CPCZ Central Committee's press spokesman and ensure that responsible ranking party representatives and Communists who are working in state bodies would give news conferences and make appearances in the media.

The CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary noted that the session on Friday [24 November] took an unambiguous stance on the 17 November events. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium now asks Comrades Adamec and Pitra to submit proposals for changes in the posts of the CSSR Minister of the Interior and the Minister of the Interior and Living Environment of the Czech SR.

In the concluding part of the report, the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary stressed that he expects this session to become yet another step on the road of our society's restructuring in a period which is very difficult for the party. We are not alone on this road, however. We rely on the experience of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, on the knowledge from the developments in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. However, we have to deal with our problems in accordance with our own conditions. No one provides us with any models, no one foists upon us any models, but deepening international mutuality, support, and cooperation, exchanging and a profound study of experience from restructuring in the socialist countries are invaluable for us since they will make it possible to avoid mistakes and errors. Had we learned our lesson in time we could have been spared quite a few things. Taking over what corresponds also to our conditions will help us

to more effectively pursue the road toward socialism, with the people and for the people.

Urbanek Addresses National-Level Party Aktiv

LD2811231489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2200 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Speech by Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, at a national-level party aktiv in the Palace of Culture in Prague on 28 November—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, we have called you together to discuss what to do in the immediate future, to give you information on the situation in which we find ourselves. Naturally we want to hear your views. What are the facts now? At this moment, whether we like to admit it or not, we are on the defensive. Our opponents have seized the initiative. The opposition has formed and gained a strong influence. Comrades, it was not difficult; our predecessors made it extremely easy for them and if we do not manage to react quickly now, they will continue to have it easy. To sum up briefly: We are in the middle of a political struggle, and our policy must be subordinated to this.

I repeat yet again: What we need now is action unity [applause] stemming from the moment, from the basic organizations of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], district and regional committees, simply from the overall necessary trust in the activity of the center. We must not permit any further disruption of our society. We must make sure that every primary organization and its members function actively in their environment. New things are being organized on a broad basis, especially here in Prague and Bratislava, but also in other places of the Republic—this is the broad base of Civic Forum. That is why the communists must unite with all those who are sincerely interested in building socialism. To achieve this unification one must use the platform of the National Front—And that is what is involved right now. At the same time we do not hide the fact that there are growing demands for the convocation of an extraordinary congress to be speeded up. What is important now is to concentrate on preparations for it.

What must we do? First, increase our influence on the communication media. We must not allow that opposition to gain a decisive influence here. If we are talking about democracy—then there is an appropriate approach and representation for everyone. Next on the agenda is the question how we are to argue in our political work at workplaces and in places of residence—that is the most important thing now. We have to demonstrate that we, Communists, are always here and that we will remain here. [applause]

However, we must form a new party. The party must be mobilized, and we must make it possible for it to react to new conditions and to influence them. Our activity, the content, forms and methods of our work must correspond to this. Naturally, we will not change from day to day. However, if we do not convince the membership base and the peoples of this country that we can change and that we can implement our aims within the framework of democracy, then we will lose. Every attempt to persist in the old ways, to return to former conditions, is extremely dangerous for the party at this time.

People must believe that we have put an end to dilatoriness, to [word indistinct] indifference to the real situation as was often the case before in total contradiction with the opinion of the membership base and the people of this country and which finally led to the November crisis. The majority of you have been pointing out mistakes for a long time. You knew about them, but unfortunately there was not enough willingness to listen to us.

Comrades, it is clear to me that what I say to you might seem too radical. It is even possible that some our officials in the center, in the regions, and in districts, at specific places, will not like this. However, the party apparatus must make maximum effort to stimulate activity and initiative and say: It is impossible to strive to maintain something whatever the price when it cannot be maintained.

It would be certainly ideal if the new party leadership expressed the unity of view of the membership base, now if they all understood and wanted to understand what is necessary today to activate the party for the future. We must be realists. Such a state of affairs can hardly take place now. One of the reasons for this is that as regions and districts see it they might not evaluate the weightiness of the events in the same way as in the center.

We cannot waste time with a sort of wide internal party discussion. The time for this will be when the crisis is passed. The leadership must act now in a way that we envisage is in harmony above all with the views of the majority of our party, taking into consideration especially the views of workers, cooperative farmers, young people, creative and technical intelligentsia—simply those people who form a healthy core and the base of the party.

And now for an assessment, which we consider a point of departure for the adoption of the necessary action program, whose basic pivot is the need for a speedy convocation of the Congress: The demonstrations of students and young people have set in motion a large number of people who want a true, not half-baked, restructuring, profound positive changes in our lives, democratization, and implementation of their abilities and creativity for the benefit of each and every one of us. We, too, voiced this at the 7th session of the Party's Central Committee. Restructuring is a revolutionary process, but we are not succeeding in implementing this. Let us admit that this situation has been very efficiently used by the opposition to enable it to form itself.

Politicization of the young generation and its active interest in the questions of social development is, no doubt, an act in the interest of progress on the territory of

socialism. This is the basic approach of our party. As long as the mass movements of young people and the public remain on this ground, a number of things will be speeded up and our society will move forward. At the same time—and I must openly draw attention to this this movement is in danger of being taken over by the forces which intend to misuse it, to turn it against the communists and socialism itself. They proclaim democracy for everybody, but they do not want to let the Communists speak. Now they do not even want to listen to the students whose demands are mentioned less and less frequently. Support us, they say, be united, but we shall speak for you. In fact, they are not interested in dialogue, but in monologue, they want to replace the power monopoly, of which they accuse the communists, by their own power monopoly. [applause]

As early as today, in the beginning of their existence, they are clearly demonstrating what they understand under the notion of democracy. This was also shown to us by the progress of the Sunday demonstration on Letna Plain, where the premier and the head of state were insulted.

These facts have to be responsibly taken account of in our policy, in the work of the party. However, at the same time we cannot fail to mention our own shortcomings. We must seek the causes of the people's justified dissatisfaction in our own mistakes without narrowing them down to the activity of political opponents alone. One must see that the problems in society did not arise all at once. They were developing for a long time. A number of party organizations, as well as individual Communists, drew attention to this situation. We are entering, in the new conditions, a political struggle for the renewal of socialism. [applause] We are leading negotiations with our allies in the National Front. However, if these negotiations are to be successful, I am stressing yet again the need to maintain the membership base of the party and, although enormous pressure is being put on it, to persuade it that this party can play a dignified role in CSSR policy. [applause] True partnership relations must be established in the National Front and not only in its center but everywhere, among political parties whose point of departure is the joint political program of the National Front and the constitution. Differing or contradictory viewpoints will be mitigated by political agreement. This new position of the CPCZ must, in our view, be reflected in the new constitution too. In the process of preparing the new draft constitution we have always started from the principle that its draft cannot include a monopoly of any single party. [applause]

As for Civic Forum: We have carefully studied its program. We are reaching the conclusion that this document can also be a basis for talks, because, in a number of approaches and demands we will not differ diametrally. One can say openly that a number of Civic Forum's topics our indeed our own topics. [applause] They have been prepared by the party Central Committee Presidium which was to discuss them at its December session. There are, naturally, also differences, but we will have to get used to the fact that politics is not conducted only with those who agree with us. We are deeply convinced that the ideals of socialism, although they were often discredited by faulty practice, will maintain their strengths and validity. [applause] They express the real interest of the working man and his aspirations for social justice, and we will continue to fight for those ideals. [applause]

We must change ourselves into a political party with greater ability to act, which in democratic and fair competition seeks and finds its irreplaceable place in society. [applause] This is an absolutely fundamental demand, and it will be some time yet before many of us understand all its ramifications. However, we must voice that demand now and be absolutely clear, at the beginning of the pre- congress period, so that people do not think that our position is merely a tactical one, and that in time we want to return to the kind of party model which has not stood the test of time.

In addition, we must tackle cardinal issues of party history. If we are to come to terms with the past, we must analyze developments in the past few years, including all the facts connected with individual events of 1968. [applause] This is part and parcel of the process of restoring the people's trust in this party, and the people should also know that the party today sees it as one of its main tasks to resolve the political crisis and prevent an economic crisis. We must not allow things to develop as in Poland where, immediately after the Polish United Workers Party lost the elections, factories were being returned to private owners or sold off to foreign capital. The workers today have to go on strike against the same government which they elected only a few months ago.

We are in favor of a fundamental turn in the economy toward the social needs of the people, of resolute and consistent economic reform, and structural changes, and here we must do away with half- measures. At the same time we say clearly that these changes can and must be carried out on a socialist basis, with full respect for the social interests of the working people. [applause]

We inherently reject the view that we have to go back to capitalism. [applause] Dealing with economic problems at the price of mass unemployment? We see social justice for everybody as highly topical.

As you perhaps know, the Central Committee Presidium tasked Comrade Pitra with ensuring that the Government of the Czech SR adopted measures to hand over the Prague National Health Institute for the needs of a diagnostic center for the population of Prague.

It is necessary to wage a firm fight against corruption, enrichment at the expense of others, against undeserved income. [applause] And I stress this because this does concerns not only the members of our party, as the opposition is trying to persuade us. Whoever is resonsible for it, we want to have nothing in common with these phenomena.

Comrades, we must also see the risks connected with future developments. A part of the current opposition

imagines this development as a nonsocialist one. We are, however, convinced that the future of our country is as a socialist state. The CPCZ wants to wage its political struggle for this very future, for which we want to win over every honest worker, agricultural worker, or member of the intelligentsia. We must look openly into the eyes of the truth.

The last few days have revealed the entire hard reality that the party's influence on political processes was insufficient. Its leading structures grew into the administrative system of management and detached themselves from the membership base. [applause] This contradicted the views, convictions, and hopes of thousands of rank and file members of the party from enterprises and localities who worked honestly for the advancement of society. Their warnings, critical words, and demands for rectification were, however, overlooked. They themselves became an object of manipulation. For many of us who devoted the best years of our life, it is not easy to understand what will hold true.

The future of the party demands that we give up the power monopoly, that we change into an active political force, that we accept an appeal and contribute to the creation of the pluralism of democracy, that we work in an equal partnership with the other political forces and in alliance with everyone who is calling for socialist development.

We voice the conviction that democratic demands do not run counter to socialist development, and the whole activity of the Party must be adapted to this. No doubt you understand that in the current situation, we are obliged to respect all the demands that will ensure the further development of socialism, but now, when we hear such demands as the abolition of the People's Militia, the resignation of managers who are communists, the abolition of the primary party organizations in factories, the sell-off of CPCZ buildings, we regard this as the unacceptable limit, and we will not retreat from that. [thunderous applause and chants of "long live the CPCZ". Urbanek himself shouts "long live the CPCZ" in time with the chanting]

Not even in today's turbulent times can we forget the fact that production must function, that there must be goods to buy in the shops, that the hospitals and health facilities must operate, that transportation must operation, that services must function. The current political struggle to resolve the enormous problems faced by our society does not mean we will not actively pay attention to the day-to-day needs of the people. The Party still has this responsibility. [applause] Therefore we call on all communists to do everything possible in this respect, everything the situation calls for. We appreciate the behavior of all our citizens who understand that duty.

We also appreciate the fact that the current developments, despite all the tension, have taken place peacefully and without the use of violence. For our part, we will do everything to ensure that this continues to be the case. But we say, frankly, that the other side also bears equal responsibility for this, and it must oppose all possible extremes, violations of the law, and threats to people and property. [applause]

The path of dialogue which we have embarked on is making it possible to release the tension in society, tackle problems in a businesslike way, and hold constructive talks. We fully endorse this.

Comrades, originally the Presidium did not intend to speak about international issues, but it considers it necessary to make at least these two comments.

First, after the summit in Malta, there will be a meeting in Moscow of the leading representatives of the socialist countries' fraternal parties. [applause] On that occasion, I will have talks with Comrade Gorbachev.

Second, it is with concern that we received today's speech by Chancellor Kohl, who declared a three-stage program for the reunification of Germany. With the exception of the Greens, this was supported by all the Bundestag parties.

I want to stress that we fully support the post-war arrangement of Europe. We believe that calling into question the existing political and territorial realities is a serious threat to the Helsinki process, which we fully support. [applause]

Thank you for your attention.

More on Vasil Mohorita News Conference

LD2911171889 Prague CTK in English 1611 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 29 (CTK) - Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member Vasil Mohorita said today he believed the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, with all problems and shortcomings, would continue to hold a position in society.

Mohorita, who is at the same time chairman of the Socialist Youth Union, told a press conference inter alia that he asked to be relieved of his post in the Youth Union.

He said that the Communist Party will act differently from how it did so far but will react to political developments in society in line with its ideology. Thus it will naturally be the target of criticism by other parties but will in this way create the possibility of being able itself to express its views regarding other political parties and civic initiatives.

Vasil Mohorita said "the situation has changed fundamentally. We are one of the parties and therefore have the right to say our opinions just as the others. We want to become a normally functioning modern political party which will pursue a policy in the interest of the working people. It will carry it out in practice and not just speak of it as it did so far. Although it is in a very difficult,

unpleasant and, it can be said, crisis situation, the Communist Party will have to consider all questions competently and assume clear stands on all requirements. The situation is all the more worse since there is little time left because the old leadership did not react to developments in society."

On the question of elections he said they should be free and democratic, and believed they could be held within 12 months. He said the government would present a draft election law to the Federal Assembly.

Asked what will happen if the Communist Party loses the elections, and would it allow any other party to head the government, Vasil Mohorita said it will not be up to the party to allow it. "As a party we shall naturally fight to have the largest number of deputies. It would be naive of me to say we will win but we must do all we can to have an honourable position," he said.

Asked by a GDR journalist whether the Communist Party would discuss questions of further development with the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], as the situation in Czechoslovakia develops similarly as in the GDR, Mohorita said that cooperation with the fraternal parties should not stop, on the contrary it should strengthen the sooner the better.

Vasil Mohorita also said it is necesary to return speedily to the question of the entry of five Warsaw Treaty countries' troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968, to consider it and give Czechoslovak citizens and the whole world objective information about it.

Adamec Speech to Nation on Current Developments

LD2911211689 Prague Television Service in Czech 1907 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Speech by Federal Premier Vladislav Adamec; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens, comrades: For the second week now a strike by students is continuing, theaters have not been performing, and on Monday [27 November] a short-term general strike took place.

As far as the seriousness of these hours and days is concerned, there is a harmony of views of our entire society. I am convinced of this by a number of personal meetings and letters addressed to the government and its individual members and to me personally. Views on the causes of the current situation and its solution differ. However, I do not see in this an obstacle to a joint search for ways out.

What is the common element in the majority of views? Great hopes for changes for the better are joined by fears about the future of our country and its people. All views call for clear stands, for open words, for full truth.

An open letter from the management and work collective of the Poldi Kladno plant considers this to be the only way to lead society out of the current crisis situation. I fully agree with it.

I have not only now come to realize the seriousness of our situation in these exciting days. I have often warned about the threatening danger when speaking at party organs, and I have also proposed specific measures. Unfortunately, I was not heard.

Bureaucratic and unqualified interventions in the government's work prevented more energetic action against shortcomings and speedier progress. I can say with a clear conscience that, in these unfavorable conditions, I have always kept in mind the welfare of the people and the prosperity of our socialist motherland.

Esteemed fellow citizens, we have done much in the course of the past year. We have pushed through a critical assessment of the development in the past 2 decades. We have shown how we are lagging behind the world, and we have shown the need to open ourselves to new ideas and modern forms of management, as well as to the international division of labor. We have outlined a daring program of structural changes. In order to speed up economic reform we made use of knowledge and suggestions by our scientists.

We have not been able to achieve everything in those 13 months. We ourselves are not happy about many things. Today, this is also in the past. I recall it only because I cannot be silent regarding unjust accusations. Nevertheless, I listen with surprise today to advice by those who forget their own responsibility.

However, other problems are more topical now. Above all, the question of what will happen tomorrow, in a week's time, a month's time, a year's time must be answered. We cannot reject this question although it is not possible to be a prophet. Nevertheless, I can say with full responsibility today that this depends above all on the 15 million citizens of Czechoslovakia, on how they will be able to combine their longing for a democratic state with efforts to improve the economic situation. There is a need for criticism; providing it is in the interest of truth. Then criticize sharply, strictly, without mercy and without taking into account who the target is.

It is right to let the people express their own views, not to silence anybody who is concerned about law, justice, and good. However, I, as premier, or the government, as an organ responsible for adherence to laws, cannot agree with anything that threatens the foundations of our stability, which would lead to disintegration of the management of society, which disturbs supplies to the internal market, toward weakening social and legal securities. Anarchy and destabilization of the national economy cannot be the program of any sensible human being. I am glad that the overwhelming majority of the working people of the Czech lands, as well as Slovakia, have a similar opinion.

On behalf of the government, I would like to highly praise the patriotic attitudes of all labor collectives which have safeguarded or which are safeguarding the shortfall in production caused by Monday's strike. What does this prove? Above all, this shows that the overwhelming majority of workers, farmers, and intelligentsia realize the importance and irreplaceability of honest, everyday work. It is true that this tune has been played many times in the past by those who were not concerned about the well-being of the country, but, above all, distracting the attention of the working people from the need for radical changes, from criticism of their inability and, often, also misusing posts for their own advantages.

Not even these justly condemned practices, however, can constitute a reason for us to forget the complete truth that one cannot conduct good politics without a well-functioning economic life—the more so when our economy is struggling with many serious problems. I can say responsibly that the situation is even more complicated than had been officially admitted until recently. I did not hide this fact, although I often met with lack of understanding or even deliberate withholding of parts of my speeches by some communications media.

In connection with the preparation of the Ninth 5-Year Plan we shall acquaint the public with more complete views on the actual situation of our economy. That is why nobody should consider my words as deliberate intimidation or as creating moods against democratic changes.

At the same time, those people who in the last 2 decades brought the economy into its current state should answer for their actions to the people of this country. This includes the former chairman of the Federal Government.

Let me explain my attitude to the need for a dialogue. Its necessity is the political base of all statements by the Federal Government and of my speeches, too, as it is in the interest of mutual understanding within the nation.

We have been the first to start the dialogue even if it is delayed. This sounds as if we are looking for excuses but it was not quite our fault. I believe that the best policy is honesty, sincerity, and openness. This is all the more true in complicated situations when radicalization is taking place and when masses of young people are entering politics. Last week we met three times with the delegation of the Civic Forum which has considerable influence on the population. In its ranks there are many well-qualified experts.

Representatives of the government have held talks with the representatives of striking students; meeting with representatives of political parties, of mass organizations, and of the churches. The government has tasked me with holding talks with everyone who can contribute to finding ways for the unification of the people around positive programs, who have something to say on the tackling of the current situation. Willingness to sit at a table in the interest of finding national understanding does not contradict my communist conviction.

A demand was made at yesterday's talks with the representatives of Civic Forum: the immediate resignation of the government on that very day. I refused to discuss such an ultimatum. In the end we agreed that by 6 December a new government would be formed in a new composition. It is a very weighty issue, and therefore I find it necessary to make the government's view publicly known.

It is generally known that the reforming of the governments is a part of the resolution adopted at Friday's [24 November] session of the CPCZ Central Committee. I have not been involved with this idea only during the last few days, but for several months already.

I am well aware of the fact that the composition of the government has to correspond to the pluralism of political forces, interests, and views. There must be a place in the Federal Government for representatives of other political parties, too. Also, nonparty members who are in the majority in our society have, without doubt, the right to be in government posts. Nor do I reject proposals coming from various initiatives which are outside the National Front. That was why I also asked representatives of the Civic Forum to recommend people from among their supporters.

Esteemed citizens, I consider it right to inform you about the preparations for the new composition of the government. We consult on these changes with a wider circle of the organizations represented in the National Front, as well as with those outside of it. In this context we are for a democratic exchange of views. I do not reject criticism, I listen to reasonable recommendations. Nevertheless, I reject unilateral ultimatums and dictates.

It is impossible to work in conditions when I am already threatened in advance by strikes to follow and demands of resignation. I can understand people's discontent. I respect their right to publicly express disagreement, bitter feelings over wrongdoings, unjustices or grievances. I am aware of the fact that various reservations and comments regarding this or that individual or department can exist.

What I am interested in is something different. These days we face many pressing tasks. The government must speed up the preparation of laws on democratic elections and propose a fundamental expansion of civil rights. Together with this there is a need to secure the entry of the new economic mechanism.

Much is expected of us also in implementing necessary changes in foreign policy. We are entering the winter period when we need to ensure energy for factories and warmth for homes. It is not possible to allow any disruptions in supplies in the pre-Christmas period. And this is, of course, not all. For this we need the trust and support of you, the citizens. Only given those securities is it possible to continue work. Today there is no time for

cheap sophistry, legal quibble, and ambiguous slogans. Everybody must know whose side he is on, whether he wishes quick progress, but without unnecessary risks of political and economic disruption, or if he is prepared to take all sorts of risks.

Some people may not even realize this danger. I consider it my duty as an experienced official of the CPCZ and a representative of a socialist state, not to hide the seriousness of the situation. Allow me, in this connection, to make yet another remark: In our society, various views emerge as to the question of the military solution of the situation in August 1968. I am not authorized by anyone to adopt a viewpoint on this serious and complicated event. Much has changed in the course of 21 years. We live in a different world. A new generation is entering social life. Despite this, I think that one cannot walk around this question with eyes closed. My personal opinion is that justification for the entry of the troops of the five [Warsaw Pact] states to the territory of our republic, and a possibility of a political solution to this problem, must be reassessed.

I would, therefore, like to propose to the Federal Government that we adopt a principled viewpoint on the solution of the crisis situation in our country. Together with the governments of other participant states, we should politically close this question as soon as possible. I also advocate a speedy opening of bilateral talks with the Government of the USSR on an international agreement about the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of the CSSR. The departure of the Soviet troops, however, must be in harmony with the progress of the all-European disarmament process. It would be a mistake to make a cheap campaign out of this affair, to extract political capital from it. The confirmation of all the connections regarding August 1968 cannot be the subject of some new resolution but of a thorough collective assessment by a group of historians of the interested countries. This step is also necessary in the interest of reduction of social tension for the benefit of facilitating the dialogue on significant social problems of today and tomorrow.

Esteemed fellow citizens, it is my wish, as well as a pledge of the federal premier, to overcome as soon as possible this social and political crisis. The sooner we manage to do this, the sooner Czechoslovakia will again become an honorable partner of even the most advanced countries of the world regarding the standard of education, culture, human rights, and economy. Thank you for your attention.

Federal Assembly Holds Joint Session in Prague

Blazej Speaks t0 Assembly

LD3011003389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Speech by Deputy Anton Blazej, Federal Assembly Presidium member, at the joint session of the Federal Assembly in Prague on 29 November—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies, we are meeting at a joint session of both the chambers under the influence of the events of last week. Without emotions, without illusions, with clear heads and full civic responsibility, we must truly master realistic assessment of the actual situation and adopt realistic legislative measures in order to adopt a viewpoint of the Federal Assembly on the political crisis. Well, in my opinion, we should present a clearcut point of view on the most topical questions. We have to note that a realistic situation for setting up political plurality in Czechoslovakia has been created. This objective fact has put the Federal Assembly in principally new, qualitatively new conditions compared to those in which we worked in the past.

The role of the Federal Assembly in the political system is, in principle, increasing, and its competence as a legislative organ, as an initiating organ, as a verification organ with regard to the CSSR Government and the central organs and institutions of our state is growing. Many of us are not ready for these new conditions. There is no time to learn. There are no crash courses, no intensive courses of truly socialist democracy available.

Moreover, we have to take action, to undertake a number of concrete deeds and actual measures. The times which we are entering will spell objective screening of every deputy, every official. In crises situations it tends to be the case that professonal prerequisites are created for the performance in given posts, personal qualities and the art to deal with people.

The time is coming when the struggle for posts is over. It is the beginning of the stage when many of us will be afraid to accept new posts. We are entering political struggle which will create conflict situations. We shall not avoid, despite the high cultural standards of our peoples, scandalization and misuse of even the minutest mistakes or blunders. Every step of a leading official will be subject to criticism, democratic verification of the public, it will be under a critical scrutiny of mass communication media, as well as the individual journalists, commentators and publicists.

We are not used to many of these. However, we must not become nervous. We must not succumb to demagogy and emotions. On the contrary, we must have courage to stand up for people in cases where we are personally convinced that injury is being done and that, regrettably, personal scores are being sorted out. On the other hand, however, I must stress that the leading officials in the new conditions have no right to make mistakes—at least not fundamental ones.

In the past, many mistakes and blunders were not made deliberately and on purpose. They stemmed from the methods, from the forms which were the product of the entire political social system, of administrative methods of management. We, the communist deputies must, above all, ourselves pulicly admit our own mistakes and blunders, as well as blunders of the party, our incorrect interpretation of socialism, our incorrect understanding of the leading role of

the party—which we even guaranteed legislatively in the new Constitution in the year 1960.

These conditions have created favorable prerequisites, both at home and abroad, for the birth of political opposition in Czechoslovakia. That is why we very positively praise the new course of the new leadership of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] as an initiative of the Government of the Czechoslovak SR [Socialist Republic] in that it opened a creative dialogue with this new political force and that it is submitting proposals as to deleting Article IV and Article VI from the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Moreover, I think that a creative dialogue is starting also on the territory of the Federal Assembly. We, communist deputies, are eager for this dialogue which we want to lead on the level of equal partners with the deputies of other political parties, as well as with deputies without political affiliation. We want to aproach this mutual dialogue without emotions, without prejudice, and we are asking the others to maintain a similar approach. All of us, regardless political affiliation, we must learn a new political culture, new political literacy.

If our, or your party, wants to be successful in the future democratic election and if any of us will want to play the first fiddle—among equals—then it will depend, above all, on our abilities, on the standards and education of deputy candidates, their program and cultivated, matter-of-fact argumentation in the election campaign. We, the communist deputies, will strive yet again for the trust of our electors, for the trust of our citizens- - that is why we are speedily carying out rehabilitation of the party in the eyes of the rank-and-file members of the party, as well as in the eyes of the public.

The Communist Party is formulating an action program for building a new quality of socialism. We are fully aware that there are no slogans, no proclamations, no appeals which will help us—only actual deeds, actual steps, and actions will insure that we regain the trust of the citizens. The communist deputies very actively support the democratic election, the birth of a coalition government, and if we want to unite on the principle of building a modern democratic, humanistic, industrially advanced, and socialist Czechoslovakia, I think that we have all the prerequisites in order to find a common language.

As an experienced university lecturer, as a university official for 26 years—of which 20 years I held the post of Chancellor of Technical University—I have during the current political crisis attended several meetings with university students. Yesterday I attended an aktiv of teachers and students at the department of chemical technology of the Slovak Technical University, and also a meeting with representatives of the Slovak University Students Coordination Strike Committee late last night. Among other things, students should end the strike; they should set a deadline by which they ask for a reply to their demands. They unequivocally reject ending the strike and are awaiting the conclusions of today's session of the Federal Assembly. [passage indistinct].

The students of the strike committee are asking that in setting up a joint commission of the Federal Assembly to investigate the action of the security organs on 17 November, representatives of the Slovak strike committee be nominated. At the same time they are asking for a representation of Public Against Violence—that is the equivalent of Civic Forum in the Czech lands. They are asking to abolish the anchoring of the leading role of the Communist Party in the constitution. That will happen, in fact—that is articles four and six. They are asking for joint negotiations between competent representatives of the Slovak Socialist Republic and representatives of the strike committee and representatives of Public Against Violence. I therefore ask representatives of the SLovak Government and the Slovak National Front indeed to meet at a dialogue with student representatives.

They asked me to plead at today's joint meeting for a possible date. I explained in the sense that in principle at least 6 months are needed to carry out new elections and that we must basically first of all adopt an election bill, that principles must be worked out first, and then, naturally, paragraphs. I do not believe that today we could truly talk about some election date. It is unrealistic. Further, they are asking for a legal functioning of a constitutional court. That will happen. Abolishing the press law is likewise on the agenda. I assume that adoption of all these three measures is to take place today. Therefore there is no reason to strike, and there is realistic prerequisite that we shall return our students to their classrooms as early as this week.

In conclusion, I should like publicly to praise, on the ground of the Federal Assembly, the very cultured, very disciplined organization of the strike on the part of the students, their expression of high social responsibility, so that they do not cause any significant economic damage by their actions. The university youth fully realize that political crisis cannot be any deeper, or else it might truly change into a crisis of all society, with serious economic and social consequences.

Thank you for your attention.

Ladr Addresses Assembly

LD2911192989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1341 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Speech by Jiri Ladr, deputy for Election District 49, member of the cultural and educational affairs committee of the Chamber of People and member of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, at the joint session of the Federal Assembly in Prague—live]

[Text] Comrades, sisters and brothers deputies, esteemed guests! Allow me to state here on behalf of the deputies of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party out stand regarding the current situation.

It would certainly be appropriate to have it done by the party's chairman but he has already expressed his clear stand several times—first by politically shielding our statement of 19 November and last time at a press conference which took place Monday.

The deputies of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party welcomed the fact that a joint session of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations had been convened. It is also high time to take a stand and to look for a solution to the deep social and political crisis. Where else but on the floor of Parliament should the best ways to solve this country's destiny be sought?

In a normal democratic society there are two institutional preconditions which enable feedback and immediate reaction to people's problems. These are: a continously working parliament—but one which is formed in free elections in the framework of which individual political subjects, usually political parties, can compete either independently or in various coalitions; and also a free press.

Before I go on to speak about these questions, let me explain this: because remarks can be heard from various sides that as a party we have suprisingly suddenly put forward our statement of 19 November 1989, which was published in Monday's issue of SVOBODNE SLOVO on 20 November. we have to explain this situation. Our party has for at least a year and a half pointed out totally publicly the need to significantly strengthen parliament, and we were the first to define the question of a legal state by precisely defining the relationship between citizen and state.

After the events of January this year we became aware of the need for a speedy legal amendment of the right of assembly, association, and petition and we thought there would be no more interventions by the security forces, providing a demonstration was peaceful. Because we saw inertia in some places, we united our modest forces and 1 week after 21 August this year, when force was again used during an intervention against peaceful demonstrators, we adopted our drafts of laws on the right of assembly and association. We presented these immediately to the chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee with a recommendation that they should be speedily discussed and adopted even before the new Constitution. We received the answer that the legislators did not recommended the adoption of our laws before the new Constitution.

At the fall session of the Federal Assembly, as well as at the Czech National Council, our deputies spoke substantially differently from other deputies. At the Czech National Council, brother Jan Skoda—leading secretary of our party—abstained in the voting on the adoption of the law on theaters, and his explanation of this fact met with a lack of understanding among the others. Brother Jaroslav Safarik delivered a rather fundamental speech on how the Czech National Council should work and how it does not work. And we are not going to hide the fact that this speech was not met with understanding either.

Everybody will certainly remember that 3 days before the unfortunate events of 17 November our deputy, brother Lubomir Fanta, said here clearly—and let me to quote it, preferably in its entirety: The question of socialist rule of law concerns, without any doubt, the relationship between state and citizen. I think that especially at this time there is a need to push forward the idea that state organs can limit a citizen's freedom only on the basis of the law and only in a way which is provided by the law. A citizen can then do anything which is not forbidden to him by the law. Putting this idea into practice is a very complicated task because a citizens' duties are often determined by tens of regulations, and often their behavior is also determined by the internal regulations of state organs which, by demanding from their employees a certain way of behaving, at the same time also limit other citizens. End of quotation.

This idea now, in light of the times in which we are living, already seems meek. Nevertheless, professional politicians unequivocally heard in it our demand: that a regulation issued by the National Committee cannot determine the conditions for an assembly or for its banning. Why has nobody paid attention to us? Why has nobody taken us seriously? Was it not already time to speedily accept our drafts of laws on the right of assembly and association? I beg you to understand this rhetorical question at the same time as a proposal by our group of deputies of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party in the Federal Assembly

Nevertheless, what matters is not only the speeches by deputies at the supreme representative bodies—in principle, those only drew on the ideas which were the subject of the ninth session of our Central Committee which took place on 4 May this year and which we still consider to be the program of democratization of our entire society. We think that it would not be inappropriate if all press reports on the program of the Civic Forum, at least a substantial excerpt of the ideas which were expressed then, are published in all the important media.

On the basis of the ninth session of our party's Central Committee we worked out fundamental suggestions regarding the position of the supreme representative bodies and organs of constitutional supervision which we sent to Comrade Jakes in May this year. There is, however, a need to say that the ideas included in it were implemented by our deputies a year and a half ago when a bill on the order of proceedings and a bill on deputies were being discussed. The majority of our suggestions were then rejected as being contrary to the Constitution. There is a need to say that it was not and is not so. Our suggestions are at your disposal at the lobbies.

Thus I come to the question of whether in our country the Parliament is really the Parliament. According to the

Constitution, according to the law there is no doubt about it. However, in practical terms of its activity it is not. That is why there is no wonder that people simply took matter into their own hands.

In this context, we would like to say one thing: In our statement on the events of 17 November we fully understood the anger provoked by this event and which found its expression in the strike movement of students, theater actors, and other initiative groups, in the statements of Cardinal Tomasek and Dr Hromadka, chairman of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, as well as supporters of the Civic Forum.

If the normal institutions have failed, and we have to say that they have failed, then where are the various views and stands to be aired? Where are ministers to be called to answer according to their responsibility, and immediately? It is no wonder, and it also corresponds to the logics of the development, that the people themselves should force changes which, given wise assessment, should and could have been adopted long ago.

We would like to say unequivocally that if Parliament does not speedily understand this new situation, if it does not understand that it is here to fulfill the interests of the people, the matter will be again tackled on the streets—where else? People ultimately will not have any other possibility.

In this context, we recommend to you a proposal to take our suggestions which we are here now putting forward as the basis for the further course of Parliament. Let us disregard, please, the fact that it is being put forward by the Czechoslovak Socialist Party—in these fateful moments we are not at all interested in our name. Please consider it as a solid base for changing the way Parliament works. One of our demands is that Parliament should meet substantially more often. We think that it should be now be every week, until the situation has totally calmed down and the justified demands by people to call the ministers to responsibility are fulfilled. We have all authority in our hands, we can express no confidence in the government, if need be we can even adopt laws. Parliament's lack of activity in these fateful moments could be tragic for the destiny of our nation. There is a need to consider outside of the framework of our suggestions whether discussion and speeches should be entirely and on principle not programed. Individual speeches should be conceived in such a way that deputies speak more on behalf of individual groups of deputies of political Parties and groups of deputies on behalf of the most important social organisations and nonparty members. Only in this way is it possible to reach the wished-for plurality of views.

We are learning democracy and it will take us a long time. In principle, what should apply is that always all representatives of individual political and social forces should express their views—if they consider it necessary—on the given question. The organization of discussion in the name of the committee has shown itself to be ineffective, feeble, and totally superficial.

Esteemed Federal Assembly, we do not want to put ourselves forward as a party which knew everything and that only the others made a mistake by not accommodating us. We too have our share of responsibility. Our share of responsibility lies in the fact that in the past we should have demanded with much more emphasis and without compromises those things about which we were convinced were necessary and truthful, those matters which corresponded not only to the ideas of our members but also those of the wide public.

If you remember, at the last session, we had already found the courage—almost as the only ones—to abstain from voting. As our apology there is a need to say that the Federal Assembly—and let us [word indistinct] admit this—still had at that time an atmosphere that any step aside was assessed very unfavorably. The act of abstention itself required personal courage. This is, of course, not a matter of law. This is a matter of a fundamentally wrong practice. All of us have to draw lessons from our mistakes, including we in the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. We must know for the future that if we are convinced that our views are correct, then we have to defend them at all costs. Of course, the deputies of other political parties have to take this course of action—but this their own concern. If we do not do it then not only will all constitutional institutions disintegrate but all of us will lose any trust.

Let me conclude by putting forward on behalf of the deputies of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party our fundamental demand that free and democratic elections are held in near future. We are aware in this context that the entire Federal Assembly, each of us, has to accept the will of the electorate in the framework of free elections, to enable them to select those who will best defend our interests.

Let us not look for those guilty of the current situation. Let us not discuss what we did wrong, in order to reproach ourselves with some things. Let us speedily discuss our mistakes in order to avoid them in the future. Our nation expects that Parliament will be its ultimate spokesman. And if this expectation is not fulfilled, then the people will return to the streets.

I hope that, unlike in the past, the mass media will transmit our statement in its entirety, reporting both for home and abroad. Thank you for your attention.

Hykova Speech on Party

LD2911181289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1403 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Speech by Blanka Hykova, Chamber of Nations deputy representing Prague 5 constituency for the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, at the joint session of the Federal Assembly in Prague on 29 November—live]

[Text] Comrades deputies, esteemed sisters, esteemed brothers, esteemed guests.

The events of 17 November clearly showed that one cannot play with the people's confidence forever. Each honest citizen of this republic must have been deeply shocked by the brutal action of the armed forces against peacefully-demonstrating students, and must have condemned it. Each man and woman, however apolitical he or she may be, must have understood immediately why and against whom this force was employed.

Yes, citizens understood this and rose resolutely against this licence. It was, however, those who at that time were deciding the fate of the nation who did not want to understand it. There cannot be any doubt that we, the deputies, and people's representatives, are bearing responsibility for the situation as it has arisen. The fact that we are meeting only today is an unpardonable mistake. Citizens should not forgive—and as testified by inscriptions in the streets they will not forgive—that the highest legislative body of the CSSR, whose duty it is to observe socialist legality, protect the rights and liberties of citizens, which are guaranteed even by the current constitution, did not manage to act in time. I personally am deeply saddened by this fact.

Esteemed colleagues. I hope that all of you realize that we have lost the confidence of our voters, not as individuals but as a legislative body. Nothing will alter this fact, whatever measures we take today. Regrettably, only tragic events have shown how dangerous the concentration of state and political offices in the hand of one political force is, and this ought to be a warning for us also in the future.

The events have regrettably also shown that the Federal Assembly, in the current state of its leadership and composition, is incapable of discharging this function. This is why I regard the demand to hold early democratic and free elections as unconditionally essential.

You all know that I am a deputy representing the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, which, and I repeat again, was the only political party to express its standpoint on the internal political situation unequivocally and in time. I am also, however, a deputy for the capial city of Prague, and what I have said here today I am also saying for myself with full responsibility.

In conclusion, I regard it as my moral duty to thank those deputies, who regardless of official attitudes of state bodies, succeeded in publicly raising their voices in the defense of citizens' rights. Thank you. [applause]

CPCZ Role, National Front Considered

LD2911151789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations met today at a joint extraordinary session in Prague. Lubos Lidicky brings you a direct report on the proceedings so far:

[Lidicky] [passage omitted] From the procedings so far I can only tell you the first items of the agenda which was approved by the deputies:

This is a change of the Constitutional Law No. 100, 1960 collection, that is, the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; a draft proposal to set up a commission for the parliamentary investigation of the inappropriate intervention of order-enforcement units on 17 November of this year in Prague; and a draft proposal to set up a constitutional court in such a way that it can start its work on 1 January of next year.

So far we have received a government proposed draft bill on the change of the Constitution—the Constitution is proposed as follows:

Articles 4 and 6 are being dropped—that is, the article on the leading role of the CPCZ in society, and Article No. 6 on the National Front. Article 16 of Paragraph 1, which reads in the draft as follows: The entire cultural policy in Czechoslovakia, the development of education and teaching, are to be conducted in the spirit of scientific knowledge and in harmony with principles of humanity and democracy. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Addresses Assembly

LD3011031589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Speech by Defense Minister Milan Vaclavik at the joint session of the Federal Assembly in Prague—live]

[Text] What Deputy Loebl has said here I deny categorically. I ask the forgiveness of Communist deputies for repeating what I already said this morning, but as I was challenged I have to repeat it to the entire Federal Assembly.

I find it necessary to inform you about the situation in the Czechoslovak People's Army and the measures we have adopted. I want to emphasize that we are fully aware that the situation that has arisen and the phenomena that accompany it are not only of an internal political but also of an international political nature. We soldiers have been following the interference of foreign forces into our measures and the effort to develop coordinated proceedings against us with concern. In this connection I want to firmly deny various speculations and slander that the Czechoslovak People's Army was prepared to intervene against demonstrations, that it took part in them, or that it was put into state of combat readiness. I emphasize again that it is not true. The quoted false information was spread with the aim of disrupting relations between the Army and the general public, to create an atmosphere of fear.

I want to emphasize—and anyone who has been in the Army can confirm this—that the Army is led to respect our people, their national traditions, cooperation between nations, honest work, and ethical values. It has never gone against the interests of the people. [applause]

I think that everybody who cares about the well-being of our country must appreciate that, especially in the crisis situation we find ourselves in, the Army must be a stabilizing factor of the internal political advancement more than ever.

I mention all this because in this time when doubts are being thrown at the values of our society, our people's Army is a frequent target of shouting. It is not because it would not be possible to criticize various shortcomings and disorders that are taking place in its life and with which we are waging a hard battle, but because some of them aim at the very essence of the Army as the key power instrument of the state. We cannot be indifferent to such speeches and slander which insult the military honor of the members of our Army, above all the professional soldiers, and cast doubts on their difficult and responsible work.

In the last few days, and I can say this comrades, the number of direct attacks against officials and noncommissioned officers has grown. They are attacked verbally and physically. Their family members are threatened too. It has gone so far that their children in primary and secondary schools are excluded from the collective and called traitors. This is democracy as well.

I would like to say that we have been following this development in the last days and hours with concern. We soldiers are aware more than anyone else that this development has been the result of a number of problems and mistakes that have accummulated in our society. We are identifying ourselves above all with the people whose attitude to socialism is honest and sincere and who do not abuse emotions for fanning pressure and for destabilizing the political and economic situation in our society.

We are also aware of the fact that our Army and our party, above all our party, is not taking an offensive position. We also think that a number of Communists have criticized waiting and hesitating in dealing with complicated problems. The current situation is very weighty but we must be listening together to the voices of rank and file Communists, of working collectives, of our workers, so we draw appropriate conclusions from this, so we tackle demands and proposals in keeping with our competence and high level of responsibility, and so Communists, above all, are united in the adopted resolutions and act further in their spirit.

I said here that we are aware that concessions and compromises in this situation would probably be necessary. However, they must have their limits and they must be accompanied by the opening of party work. This is a struggle for time in which it is necessary for the party to unite its ranks, have its own standpoint, and gradually take over the initiative if it wants to cope with this situation.

I want to tell you that we soldiers are firmly behind the speech of the general secretary of our party Central Committee and we see it as a realistic starting platform. Almost all our party organizations are behind it: commanders, political bodies, members of our headquarters, and units. I want to assure you that we have a definite interest, in this crisis-ridden situation, in not allowing emotions to overcome common sense; that people do not lose the sense for respecting the law. The danger is mounting that when doubts are voiced about the validity of some laws the entire socialist legal system, civic norms, and civic ethics could be negated.

In conclusion, I would like to say that as an army we are fully aware that our external security depends on our internal unity and firmness. As was said in the statement of the leading officials of the Czechoslovak People's Army, we emphasize again that our roots are in this country, our patriotism is in defending and building it. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Deputy Ceska Speaks

LD3011102589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1740 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Speech by Zdenek Ceska, rapporteur of the Constitutional Legal Committee of the People's Chamber, at the Federal Assembly session in Prague on 29 November—live]

[Text] Comrade Chairman, comrade deputies! Before the government: the constitutional law proposal on changing Constitutional Law No 100 of the 1960 Constitution. The proposal has been submitted to the Federal Assembly. On 28 November 1989, the Constitutional-Legal Committees of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations decided at their joint session, on their own proposal, to change the Constitution. They made this decision in an effort to create the most favorable conditions to satisfy and unite all of society's interest; to create conditions for a truly broad participation of working people in the creation, implementation and control of the state's policy; and to create conditions for the development of democracy and socialist self-administraiton.

The draft of the Constitutional-Legal Committees of both chambers is entirely in agreement with the government proposal about dropping Article 4 of the Constitution, amending the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] in the society. Concerning the government proposal demanding changes to Article 16, Para 1 of the Constitution, the Constitutional-Legal Committee agrees with this proposal, but with an an addendum; that before the word "humanities" they recommend adding the word "patriotism." In their own proposal the committee did not recommend abolishing Article 6 of the Constitution because this article—after the abolition of the Law on the National Front, Number 128 from the 1968 collection, which was implemented under Law Number 146 from the 1970 collection, namely with reference to the constitutional amendment of the National Front—represents, in fact, the only legal basis for the National Front. Thus the Constitutional-Legal Committee of the two chambers, with special

regard to the demand for the open character of the National Front, recommends this new text for Article 6 of the Constitution:

The National Front is a political expression of the alliance of nations and nationalities, social strata and interest groups. Political parties, social and interest organizations can associate in it.

This text is in harmony not only with the postulate of openness for the National Front, but also the postulate demanding that the amendment on the leading role of the CPCZ in the National Front is dropped from Article 6. This corresponds after all to the other demand for a new form for the National Front, as Comrade Minister Calfa has said.

On behalf of the Constitutional-Legal Committee of both chambers, I recommend approval of the government proposal on the constitutional law on the change to the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, with amendments proposed by the Constitutional-Legal Committee of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations.

Lucan Remarks at Assembly

LD3011124789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1810 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Speech by CSSR Deputy Premier Matej Lucan at the joint session of the Federal Assembly in Prague—live]

[Text] Esteemed Federal Assembly: There has been a question raised when formulations on the harmful character of religion will be dropped from school textbooks. I would like to reply with the following briefly. I personally think that the one-sided emphasizing of the harmful character of religion in education is not quite right because religion in the history of nations, and above all our nation, has played a positive and also negative role. The positive role has been played and continues to be played in the sphere of moral education, above all. On the other hand I would like to stress, however, that the school, the socialist school has to proceed above all from science. This is being done in all subjects and religion is a belief. I agree however that in textbooks these issues should be reviewed and a greater balance should be ensured in their contents so that pupils see, on the basis of scientific knowledge, and also what role is played by religion in nations' history, in the history of our nations, that these questions are more balanced and so that pupils can themselves freely develop their own view of the world. This can not be done immediately. This can only be done gradually on the basis of changes in school curriculums and by publishing new textbooks. This is all.

Session Ends; To Reopen 12 Dec

LD2911215489 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] The 16th joint meeting of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of the Nations of the Federal Assembly ended 30 minutes ago.

At the beginning of the session, Alois Indra asked to be released from the office of chairmen and of membership of the Federal Assembly Presidium due to serious health reasons. He proposed that the election of a new Federal Assembly chairman be carried out at the 17th joint meeting, which will convene on 12 December.

Extensive talks then began with regard to changes in the Constitution, the election of judges for the Constitutional Court, and the Constitutional Commission, which will supervise the investigation of the excessive intervention of law and order forces against demonstrating students in Prague on 17 November.

At the end deputies approved the standpoint of the Federal Assembly on the current situation. The deputies approved a joint commission to investigate the events of 17 November this year in Prague, which contains five deputies from the Chamber of People, one from the Chamber of Nations, two deputies from the Czech National Committee, two from the City Committee of the Socialist Youth Union in Prague, and two members from the Coordination Strike Committee of Students. Seven deputies abstained from voting.

Then deputies of the two chambers approved the abolition of Article Four of the Constitution with regard to the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, a provision about the National Front in its current form, and a new formulation of providing cultural policy, upbringing, and education in such a way that the notion about Marxism-Leninism is omitted.

After the endorsement of the joint statement, the 16th meeting of the Federal Assembly ended with the Czechoslovak state anthem.

Situation Declaration Adopted

LD3011134989 Prague CTK in English 0112 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 29 (CTK)—A declaration of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly on the present political situation in the country was approved at the 16th Joint Session of the House of the People and the House of Nations here today.

Eleven deputies from the two houses abstained from voting.

The document said that the Federal Assembly "Adheres to all progressive demands which aim at further development of socialist social relations, improvement of socialist democracy and the living conditions of the people".

The Federal Assembly considers it necessary to calm down the present political atmosphere solely by political means, and "voices deep regret over the inadequate action of security forces against students participating in a peaceful demonstration in Prague on November 17", the resolution said.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic must continue to be built in the concept of a law observing state, the document stressed, and called for a speedy conclusion of the work on the new constitution and new laws. It stressed especially the bill on the freedom of assembly, association, on the right to petition, press law and amendments to the law on defence. The resolution also called for a speedy preparation of new election laws.

The general assembly [as received] counts with a discussion on the bill on the environment. Great attention will be devoted to the bills on the system of basic nine-year and secondary schools and bills on universities and on youth.

The Federal Assembly requests that a proposal concerning members of the Constitutional Court of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic be submitted to it as soon as possible.

The Federal Assembly welcomes the dialogue of the government with representatives of citizens' initiatives and calls for the reconstruction of the government with the participation of other political parties and non-party members.

The Federal Assembly obliges the government to lead the dialogue with an awareness of responsibility for the socialist future of the peoples and ethnic minorities, the resolution said.

Federal Government Meets, Agenda Detailed

LD3011112789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] In Prague today, the Federal Government is discussing the draft State Plan on the economic and social development of Czechoslovakia for next year and the draft State Budget. On the agenda is also the draft (?currency plan in Czech menovy) [words indistinct] of Czechoslovakia for next year and other economic issues.

Civic Forum, 'Public Against Violence' Meet

LD2911233689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2100 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Representatives of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence met this afternoon.

These two initiatives consider each other to be sovereign representatives of the Czech and Slovak civic movement and cooperate on the basis of mutual partnership arising from the same aim, which is to change Czechoslovakia into a democratic federation in which Czechs and Slovaks will live together with other ethnic minorities in mutual friendship and understanding.

Jiri Dienstbier spoke about this today at a regular press conference of representatives of the Civic Forum in the Laterna Magica theater in Prague.

Representatives of the Civic Forum, according to a press spokesman, do not aspire to any ministerial post. However, they proposed today to the Federal Prime Minister to have as minister of national defense a non-soldier who is not compromised and is a CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] member and as minister of interior a civilian citizen who is not compromised and is not a member of the party.

Civic Forum Spokesman on Political 'Crisis'

LD3011001389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2100 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Petr Pospichal, Civic Forum's press spokesman for radio, gave an interview today to UNSERE ZEIT, the newspaper of the German Communist Party. He spoke about causes of the current political crisis in Czechoslovakia and aims of the Civic Forum.

Answering a question about how the Civic Forum in this situation assesses possibilities for cooperation with communists and the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], Petr Pospichal said:

[Begin Pospichal recording] The Forum is not closed to anybody. It is open. That is why it will of course also cooperate with Communists. Regarding cooperation with the CPCZ, the situation is more difficult. The CPCZ has not up to now shown that it is interested in speaking with us. Of course, individual talks are possible and possibly even a sort of working for a better but free and democratic Czechoslovakia. In principle it is impossible to work with the CPCZ in a coalition. This is out of bounds. [end recording]

Civic Forum To Begin CSSR Radio Broadcasts

LD3011140789 Prague CTK in English 1149 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 30 (CTK)—Czechoslovak radio reserved one hour and a half for the Civic Forum on the station Hvezda. The first half-hour program was broadcast this morning.

The Civic Forum will broadcast daily from 5.30 to 6.00 GMT and from 17.00 to 18.00 GMT. This morning, it was announced that the Civic Forum's program will be prepared by editors of various radio departmenrts who support the Civic Forum.

Both programs will be braodcast live, the morning one will bring news service and the evening one will always concern one topic, for the first time it will be the students' movement in Czechoslovakia.

Head of the Czechoslovak Radio Director General's Secretariat Ladislav Anderlik said in an interview to CTK that representatives of the Civic Forum will also broadcast in the radio's foreign service. Besides this, a debate will also be broadcast once a week in which representatives of all strata of society, independent initiatives, churches, etc. can participate, he said.

Army Tells Civic Forum About Troublesome Members

LD3011144889 Prague CTK in English 1308 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 30 (CTK)—Representatives of the Civic Forum Michal Kocab and Vaclav Klaus met with commander of the Czechoslovak People's Army Western military zone Major General Mojmir Zacharias in Tabor, South Bohemia, today.

They were informed that the Civic Forum is being joined by people whose behaviour is at variance with the Forum's program and humanitarian demands and who incite vulgar and other attacks against members of the People's Army and members of their families.

The Civic Forum resolutely condemns such behaviour and calls on the Czechoslovak public to refrain from similar acts. Its representatives at the same time voiced their satisfaction with friendly reception by members of the People's Army.

Slovak Revival Party Central Committee Session

LD2411153689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The session of the Central Committee of the Slovak Revival Party has emphasized the irreversibility of the process of restructuring in our society. In harmony with the demands of restructuring which we understand to be a continuation of the socialist path, the report delivered on the activity of the party emphasized the importance of activating the political system and its individual parts, and of developing socialist self-management.

The way out of it—in a certain sense—and the prerequisite of the democratization of our society is the recognition of the role and the place for socialist pluralism as an objective social phenomenon; an irreplaceable factor which determines the advancement of the political culture of the society.

Chairman of the Slovak Revival Party and Deputy Chairman of the Federal Assembly Jozef Simuth acquainted the participants in the session with the draft of the principles of the activity of the party in the process of democratization of society. It says, among other things, that the party is guided by the principle of ideological and political pluralism and that it supports democratic and free elections with the participation of all political parties and movements, adding that the source of power must be only the will of the people.

The session then adopted the statement of the Central Committee of the Slovak Revival Party on the current situation in the country.

Slovak Education Minister Meets With Students

LD2711143889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Ludovit Kilar, Slovak Minister of Education, Youth, and Physical Training, met in Bratislava today with representatives of the Slovak universities coordinating committee. On the agenda of the meeting, held at the initiative of the undergraduates, some students demands were discussed. Discussed above all were guarantees on the part of the minister that no students who are taking part in the present political events would be victimized. The minister reacted to this by saying that everyone has the right to voice one's own view and that it would be inadmissible if the events of the current days were to be reflected in one way or another in the assessment of specialist knowledge in examinations.

Republic Culture Ministers Release Banned Works

Slovak Minister Koys

LD2711143289 Prague CTK in English 1354 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 27 (CTK)—The Slovak Ministry of Culture today announced that Slovak Minister of Culture Pavol Koys decided to immediately put all formerly banned feature-films, documentaries and newsreels, as well as books at the disposal of the broad public.

This decision does not apply to works which propagate violence, fascism, nazism, racial discrimination and threaten humanity.

Czech Minister

LD2711175789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpt] The Czech Ministry of Culture has announced that by decision of the minister, the remaining literature previously not accessible to the public in the stocks of the integrated library system is to be made available with immediate effect. The only works which will continue to be subject to a special access regime are those which propogate war and violence, fascism and nazism, and racial discrimination, and those which are not humane. [passage omitted]

Slovak Deputy Premier Heckled at Mass Rally

AU2711221689 Bratislava Television Service in Slovak 1506 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Report on speech by Stefan Murin, Slovak Socialist Republic first deputy premier, at a mass demonstration on SNP [Slovak National Uprising] Square in Bratislava on 27 November]

[Text] The moderator, Milan Knazko, introduces Murin. [Whistling and booing from crowd. Cries of "Too late,

too late, too late." Knazko asks crowd to show some tolerance and reminds it that it represents the country's future.]

[Murin] Esteemed assembly, dear youth, esteemed citizens:

I asked to speak on behalf of the party and state leadership in Slovakia in order to sincerely greet you and at the same time... [Murin drowned out by booing and whistling from crowd. More chants of "Too late, too late, too late;" Knazko once more appeals to crowd to allow Murin to speak and present government's point of view.]

[Murin] ...and at the same time assure you that we will do everything to ensure... [Murin drowned out by jeering] that our country lives freely and happily and that every citizen, regardless of his opinions or political and religious appurtenance, can live in freedom and security. [more chants of "We do not believe you!; We do not believe you!"]

[Knazko appeals for calm and reminds audience that demonstrators in Prague allowed Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, to speak.]

[Murin] Our society has found itself at a fateful crossroad, but, despite this, we want to assure you that we are resolved to find a way out of the current crisis, [more jeering] a way out that we want to find with you and all our people [more chants of "Too late, too late, too late", as well as "Get down!, get down!"]

[Murin steps down from podium to cheers from crowd.]

Slovak TU Council Speaks for Free TU Movement

LD2811204589 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The topical internal political situation was discussed in Bratislava today by the plenary meeting of the Slovak Trade Union Council. Editor Igor Maslon reports from the session:

[Maslon] Comrade Ivan Gonko, chairman of the Soviet Trade Union Council, spoke in the beginning of his address in favor of a unified socialist free revolutionary trade union movement, independent of any political parties, uniting party and nonparty members, as well as representatives of citizens' initiatives. He said afterward, among other things:

[Begin Gonko recording] We consider the most important thing in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [RTUM] is to preserve the unity of the RTUM. Our platform is the defense of legal rights and the justified opinions of working people. We have made our justified demands several times, we have put trade unions forward. Attempts have been made to solve many things—but one can say openly that the administrative-command system of management has been acting as a brake on the initiative of the trade union movement, it has not tackled the problems and this has now resulted in spontaneous criticism by the population against the central organs. We have voiced a principle today that our trade union movement must stand in the forefront of these initiatives; it must use them. We operate on the principle that the RTUM represents the broadest masses of the working people. As such, it must teach the masses, it should learn from the masses and should not be afriad to correct possible errors which have been made, when they are justifiably pointed out by the masses. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Announcer] The Slovak Trade Union Council, in conclusion of its session, supported among other things the demand to abolish the constitutional article which guarantees the leading position of the CPCZ in society, the implementation of free and democratic elections, as well as the independence of the RTUM from the political parties and, naturally, the convening of an extraordinary all-trade union congress.

Slovak Socialist Youth Union Meets in Bratislava

LD2811215789 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union was in session in Bratislava today.

Several participants in the discussion pointed out that in spite of its great interest, none of its representatives was invited to the extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee session and that it has no representation in its newly elected bodies.

With regard to the fact that the plenum of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union expressed dissatisfaction with the attitude of party bodies, it interrupted its session and sent a delegation to the CPSL Central Committee to convey that the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union considers it most important, in the interest of halting further aggravation of tension, to abolish the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and to hold free elections.

The approved document says, among other things, that able members of Socialist Youth Union who have proven their worth in the past few days should be put in the leadership of organization at all levels.

Slovak Prosecutor General Issues Statement

LD2811221189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Report on statement by Prosecutor General Dr Pavol Kis—date and place not given]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, we will now tell you about the statement by Dr Pavol Kis, prosecutor general of the Slovak Socialist Republic:

It says that yesterday's demonstrative general strike was an eloquent statement of the determination of the citizens of our country to overcome the mistakes of the past period. For us, prosecutors, it is pleasant to know that this spontaneous movement pledged itself to disagree with any form of violence and to demand a lasting dialogue as a method of solving accumulated problems. We praise the fact, the statement of the prosecutor general says, that almost all meetings, discussions and other events are characterized by calm, mutual consideration and tolerance of the views of fellow citizens. Together with the artists from the Slovak National Theater, who today turned to our government, the highest state and party organs, we hear reports of individual attempts to persecute our citizens for their participation in the current political events. We also have reports of jeering, harassment and intimidation of citizens for their nonparticipation in meetings and for not expressing conformist views. It is regrettable that some victims are even children—because of the attitudes of their parents. Such acts are in sharp contradiction not only with the principles of democracy, but also with the constitutional principle of the equality of citizens. According to the circumstances when they happened and according to their intensity, legal responsibility can be drawn from them. As a citizen, I condemn any form of violence, moral and psychological pressure. As prosecutor general I declare that prosecution, in harmony with its constitutional role, will see to it that all the revealed manifestations of violence are prosecuted and it will use its lawful authorization to protect the dignity, security, life, health, and property of citizens. I am convinced that honest citizens will support us in this, says the statement by Dr Pavol Kis, prosecutor general of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

Slovak Council Supports Change in Party Role

LD2811231989 Prague Television Service in Czech 2100 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] At today's meeting of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council, its deputy chairman, Kamil Brodziansky, delivered a statement by the Presidium of the Slovak National Council. The highlights are as follows:

The Presidium of the Slovak National Council supports the justified demand to delete those articles of the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic that do not correspond to the principles of pluralism in political and social life, above all Article Four, on the leading position of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. This proposal is being submitted to the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The Presidium of the Slovak National Council is asking the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic to submit to the Slovak National Council concrete measures to improve its activity, including the responsibility of its individual members. We support active dialogue and cooperation with all those who seek the further development of our society sincerely and honestly, in the interests of the political and social security of our children, young people, citizens dependent on help of the society, just as do all the working people. In harmony with its constitutional roles, the Presidium of the Slovak National Council will speedily call for the meeting of the Slovak National Council.

Slovak Daily on Party's Current Position

LD2911095689 Prague CTK in English 0824 GMT 29

[Text] Bratislava Nov 29 (CTK)—"Real restructuring requires respect for the fact that present concepts and mechanisms of socialism are outdated. That are not sufficient for the present world and are not able to ensure real implementation of rights and freedoms of man, ideals and values of socialism", the Slovak daily PRAVDA said today.

It pointed out that the "development in socialist as well as communist parties proved that the party-state administrative-directive system has been limiting the possibilities of a political leadership of society by the party and even endangered its life as regards both its social mission and internal strength".

"A whole number of stereotypes in thinking and practice connected with directive-centralist methods of management of internal life and implementing the leading role of the party have not yet been overcome. Its consequence is paralysis, insufficient independence and low activity of many party bodies and organizations. Everywhere in the party it is necessary to fight against expecting an order from above", the paper stressed.

It pointed to "public opinion polls which showed the feeling of communists that the content of the policy of the party does not depend on their activity and initiatives, that they do not have a chance to participate in its creation. The widening abyss between the former leadership of the party and its membership and the malign influence of this on the relation between the party and the people, the working class and the young generation is alarming".

"A political leadership of society by the Czechoslovak Communist Party can be mentioned only when most people support the party and give it a mandate to be a ruling party", the daily stressed in conclusion.

Slovak Union of Writers Presidium Resigns

LD2911212889 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Union of Slovak Writers resigned at today's session. They are calling an extraordinary congress for 12 December. They are offering membership to those former members of the Union of Writers who were stripped of membership owing to their political attitudes.

Adamec Meets With Social, Political Groups

LD2911172489 Prague CTK in English 1532 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 29 (CTK)—Representatives of political parties and social organizations who met here today with Premier Ladislav Adamec expresed confidence in the premier and stated that the parties and organizations which they represent want him to remain at the head of a new Czechoslovak Government.

They promised to announce concrete proposals for the supplementing of the government to Ladislav Adamec so that a federal government in new composition can be presented by December 3, 1989.

Ladislav Adamec stressed the intention to present as soon as possible a proposal for the supplementing of a government by members of other political parties and people without party affiliation.

He stressed that it is necessary to realize the fact that the Czechoslovak Government bears responsibility mainly for economic development. Its basic program is to successfully end restructuring.

Present at the meeting were Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Bohuslav Kucera, Chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party Josef Bartoncik, Chairman of the Slovak Reconstruction Party Jozef Simuth, Chairman of the Slovak Freedom Party Kamil Brodziansky, Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions Karel Henes, Deputy Chairwoman of the Socialist Union of Youth Zdena Tesarova, Chairman of the Czechoslovak Union of Cooperative Farmers Pavel Jonas, Chairman of the Czechoslovak Physical Training Association Jindrich Polednik, Deputy Chairman of the Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters Frantisek Sadek and Chairman of the Czechoslovak Scientific Technical Association Bretislav Benda.

Socialist Party Chairman on Urbanek Meeting

LD2711213389 Prague CTK in English 2041 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia has still a relatively stable economy. If it is reformed and if really democratic conditions for the life of society are created at the same time, then there will be a hope to overcome the stagnation and lead the country out of the crisis, Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Bohuslav Kucera told a press conference for Czechoslovak and foreign journalists here today.

This means, however, an immediate start of a dialogue not only inside the National Front but with all initiatives which are emerging today and with the churches as well, he said, and briefed the journalists on his today's first meeting with new General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Karel Urbanek. He informed him about some concrete proposals considered significant by the Czechoslovak Socialist Party for the solution of the tense situation in the country. He stressed above all a quick working out of laws extending some civil rights, e.g. the law on assembly, association, petition, the press and publishing law. The Socialist Party proposed the working out of a law on political parties which would clearly formulate their position in the Cfzechoslovak social life. The Socialist Party also called for access of all strata of the public to the mass communication media and for an objective re- assessment of the events of 1968-69, including the entry of the armies of the five Warsaw Treaty countries, Kucera said.

General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Karel Urbanek assured Bohuslav Kucera that the proposals will be thoroughly considered.

Chairman Kucera Holds News Conference

LD2811082289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpt] At a news conference today in Prague, Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, said that his party is willing and prepared to look at the preparation of a new election law. The law must be a result of an accord among all political parties with further initiatives which arise. [as heard] New elections should be upright, straightforward, and secret. Jan Skoda, leading secretary of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, stressed that his party considers today's general strike successful, but he considered that we should reach a stage in society as soon as possible where political problems are decided by the responsible institutions. To a question about membership, the representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party said that 16,000 citizens are organized by them, and in recent days about 1,000 more have joined. [passage omitted

Socialist Youth Presidium on Current Situation

LD2811181989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth has considered the current serious political situation and has taken concrete measures to generally galvanize the youth organization. It stressed that members support and must support the word that had been voiced in unity at the recent national conference: We are for socialism.

At the same time, the Socialist Union of Youth is in favor of a totally open and equal dialogue about the future of our country. This is not the first time that it has voiced these views.

In this connection, members of the Presidium of the Socialist Union of Youth Central Committee have voiced their misgivings about some public speeches made by those who were denied a platform for many years, for they are acting in the same manner as those who had denied them that platform, they want to dictate. The Presidium of the Socialist Union of Youth Central

Committee has appealed to members of the union and to the youth to judge both by reason and heart what is being said to people today.

The Presidium has also voiced their agreement with the course of action taken by the Secretariat of the Socialist Union of Youth Central Committee during the past days and its statement made on 20 November.

CTK Notes Token General Strike in Slovakia

LD2711171389 Prague CTK in English 1643 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 27 (CTK)—Abolition of the constitutional article guaranteeing the leading role of the communist party in society, free democratic elections and further cadre changes in party and government bodies were the most frequent demands heard during today's token general strike in plants, schools, various institutions and at rallies of citizens in the streets of Bratislava and tens of other Slovak towns.

Institutions with continuous operation such as health care facilities, transport and power industry did not halt work.

RUDE PRAVO on 27 Nov General Strike

AU2911154989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Nov 89 p 1

[Editorial: "What Next?"]

[Text] We witnessed a general strike on Monday [27 November]. It took place throughout practically the whole country, and it was most extensive in our capital. The participants in it were not only students and representatives of the cultural and artistic front, but also workers, employees of the transportation and service sector, shops, and representatives of practically all the social strata of the citizens. And the general strike no longer involved only the fundamental and legitimate demands of students, with which they entered political life under the direct influence of the woeful events of 17 November. It was the expression of justified dissatisfaction with the slow progress of the political and economic reforms, the expression of the will for radical changes, the nature of which will be outlined in a broad all-social dialogue.

But one has to say openly that in the days past it was precisely the young people and students who displayed not only great organizational abilities, but also resolve and the ability to intelligibly express their view and their standpoint. They proved that they are not apolitical, that they are able to become enthusiastic about everything they consider important, with all resolve to get into a battle for a cause which they regard as being good and just. And one has to say openly that, until now, we have not provided them with enough real opportunities to make their own decisions and control their own destinies; we even thought that we had to lead them by the hand, advise them, direct them—this was often well meant—so that they would not come up against any difficulties. This also was one of the reasons why in many places the Communists took part in the general strike yesterday together with them.

But one also has to say openly that other forces were on strike with them too. And it is impossible to ignore the fact that many slogans that are currently being proclaimed in the capital and in other places have already gone a considerable way from the students' demands. It is precisely those slogans that speak unambiguously about the fact that in our country in the current days—next to the struggle for a future-oriented and prosperous socialist fatherland—another battle, the battle for the very nature of our future system, is also being fought simultaneously.

And one has to say that not only flags, tricolors, and patriotic enthusiasm took hold of the masses, but that citizens—having the current developments in Poland and Hungary in mind—are showing concern and serious consternation about our future. In this situation they are increasingly asking: what next? They are also asking the Communists this question.

Much criticism is being heaped on the Communist Party nowadays. Rightly so. Long ago the working people gave us their trust, and together with them we assumed the responsibility for the destiny of this country. We provided the people with a livelihood and jobs, we created decent living conditions for everyone. But we forgot that material abundance alone is not the expression of a full life for free and equal people. That human needs are many and multifaceted, just as our society is multifaceted. And that all those who think and live differently from us, the Communists, nevertheless can be and are good citizens of this socialist country, patriots, and this is also one of the reasons why they want to jointly decide on its further development.

Thus, what next? A search for what unites us with all honest people, regardless of political affiliation or religious belief. Without adventurism and scepticism, with full responsibility for our immediate and future destiny to build this state. The foundations on which it stands are firm. Precisely this awareness makes it possible for us not to let our heads hang, not to cast our eyes down, not to succumb to panic. We have repeated the slogan "Facing the Masses" many times, but we have often only repeated it. Our party has 1,7 million members. True, as always and in stirring times, in the midst of our ranks there will be those of little faith, but also those who think that the party card will provide them with better existence. True Communists also remain Communists at times when the party policy is fundamentally changing.

Our party's revolutionary mission can only be realized in the midst of the people, in a broad, open, and unsubdued political dialogue with them, with all honest people who are not blinded by hatred, who have the prosperity of this country on their heart. There will be social battles of a quite new nature. In those battles one can suffer quite

a few scars. But one has to fight those battles. Today, tomorrow, and any place. This is a clear answer to the question: what next?

Student Committee Votes To Continue Strike

LD2811205389 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Representatives of students from all over the Republic met at the Prague theater Damu-Disk this afternoon at the session of the statewide strike coordination committee of Czechoslovak Higher Education Institution Students. The aim of the participants in this meeting is to decide whether students should continue their strike or end it tomorrow. I had the opportunity to listen to the students, as they were convening.

Their views differed after the announcement of the results of the talks of Premier Ladislav Adamec with the representatives of Civil Forum. The talks are continuing at the moment without the presence of journalists.

I have just learned that the session of the All-State Coordination Committee has already ended and the students' strike is to continue. The committee is to meet again on Sunday.

Daily Doubts Authenticity of Tomasek Appeal

AU2711145889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Nov 89 p 8

[Jan Kliment commentary: "In Prague Archbishop's Honor"]

[Text] Whoever picked up Wednesday's (22 November) edition of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE could read on pages 1 and 3 under the headline "Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek: To All People of Czechoslovakia" an appeal which one could hardly believe. To think that a prudent, experienced man, thinking like a Christian, could say such unheard of words. The appeal said that after his return from Rome he was turning to us, his fellow citizens. It spoke about a "mighty protest against iniquity committed against us for four decades." It spoke about the impossibility of speaking the truth, about a denial of rights and freedoms, oppression of the Catholic Church, which has been in perpetual bondage to state power. It literally said, as if it was the Cardinal himself: "Not a word about the ruling party abandoning the program of the gradual liquidation of the faith. One cannot trust these people." It further said that "also we must wait no longer," it spoke about totalitarian Stalinism in our country, and about an equally woeful situation in science, culture, information, in civic and political affairs.

That appeal, which was passed off by LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE as Cardinal Tomasek's words, was also read to the demonstrators from a balcony in Wenceslas Square.

A few hours passed and in the afternoon on the same day we heard on the radio and then saw with our own eyes how Cardinal Tomasek, at the invitation of the Chairman of the City Committee of the National Front in Prague, paid a visit to Miroslav Stepan and Mayor Zdenek Horcik. According to the same paper, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, (this time from its own report on pages 1 and 4 on 23 November) we were informed that Cardinal Tomasek had agreed about the need to display bilateral good will. The Cardinal expressed thanks for the invitation. According to MLADA FRONTA, he said: "I returned from Rome on Monday evening [20 November]. The situation surprised me. I cannot say anything yet. I would like to acquaint myself with the situation to be able to make a clear statement." Later, asked by a LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE correspondent to briefly assess the talk and the meeting, he said that it was "very important to define and clarify problems in order to create good conditions for solving them."

This is a wise thought, a wise standpoint of a man who has a lot of experience. And because we heard it, or could hear it, from the Cardinal's own mouth, these words can be believed and given preference to the unbelievable expressions published by LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE the day before.

RUDE PRAVO on Necessity for Party Congress

LD2711101489 Prague CTK in English 0832 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Prague nov 27 (CTK)—Only a congress of the Communist Party and the new leadership can mobilize the party, restore its self-assurance and bring it back to the forefront of the struggle for progress, democracy and humanistic ideals, the Czechoslovak Communist Party paper RUDE PRAVO said today.

The paper regarded the convening of an extraordinary party congress as an indispensable step of utmost urgency, adding that the congress is the only body that can take fundamental steps leading the party out of crisis, the first being the restoration of the party Central Committee and the elaboration of an action program.

The past few days have shown that "the Central Committee as it exists today is incapable of expressing and formulating into a program the demands and standpoints corresponding to the importance of the present period and expressing the intrinsic interests of communists".

For the congress to be able to fulfil its mission and live up to expectations it must be a democratic assembly reflecting a broad range of opinions. Delegates should be elected by a secret vote from among more candidates, the paper said.

It stressed that without an extraordinary congress the party will not be armed for free democratic elections, it will not be successful in them without a program backed by all. The pre-congress debate and the congress itself will be a public proof that communists can definitely

part with the administrative-commanding system and incompetence which so adversely, and with tragic consequences, paralysed the party at the most difficult moments.

RUDE PRAVO added that the voice in favour of the ideals of socialist democracy still prevails in Czechoslovakia. The majority of the people resolutely resist expressions of malice and intolerance and therefore no time must be lost.

RUDE PRAVO Views Support for Reform

LD2711102189 Prague CTK in English 0847 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—"The demonstrative movement of society aimed at the reconstruction of socialism, at a high degree of democratic relations in our country, had to come, and we in RUDE PRAVO support it", RUDE PRAVO said today.

"I do not think that we as Communists could not agree on the basic thing: together with all political forces of the country to carry out political and economic reforms", commentator Jan Lipavsky stressed.

He pointed out that Sunday's [26 November] meeting showed that the party's membership has finally stood on its feet. It arouses hope that the era of those forces in the apparatus of the party which manipulated intra-party democracy and hampered action ability ends.

"It is necessary to reckon with Communists in shaping further development. We want to continue to be a real political force", he stressed.

"Otherwise we could find ourselves where comrades in Poland and Hungary are at present...in Poland, official places declare political pluralism but editors, members of the Polish United Workers' Party for instance in television are dismissed. Or in the framework of 'democratization' there is an attempt here to liquidate primary organizations of the party at enterprises. Or 'to buy' some members of the party, to force them to 'change their coat', etc.".

"The opponent expects that we shall start to settle our own accounts for real or alleged injuries. He expects that we shall quarrel and fight among each other. Then it would be easy for him to disarm us, to dismantle us an individual after an individual", the commentator concluded.

New Party Demands Government's Resignation

LD2611205689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Statement by Emanuel Mandler, Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative chairman, during news conference on 26 November—place not given]

[Text] To put it briefly, it is a program of transition from an authoritative society to a pluralist democracy of advanced countries with market economies, various types of ownership, and with secured civil rights. We want immediate temporary legislation which would secure civil liberties and rights. We demand the end of activities by the Federal Assembly by 1 February of next year, that would make it possible to democratically elect real representatives of the peoples, because the Federal Assembly has no representatives of the peoples in it at all.

These representatives would confirm a government which we hope would be appointed. Then they would work out the draft of a new constitution and proposals for really free elections. This is said very briefly about the principles of our program. For the moment we are joining the program of the Civic Forum, but we demand the unconditional resignation of the current government, which we consider responsible not only for the massacre of 17 November, but also for previous events.

Freedom Party Statement on 'Liberties'

LD2311135189 Prague CTK in English 1336 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Bratislava Nov 23 (CTK)—Freedom Party makes efforts to strengthen law, human rights and liberties as well as social security of the citizens, presidium of the Freedom Party Central Committee said here today in its statement on the political situation after the November 17 events.

The Freedom Party stresses further in the statement that it supports the idea of the "legal state" with equal rights and duties for every Czechoslovak citizen but rejects extreme manifestations and attitudes being at variance with the process of restructuring and democratization.

The human rights principles of the Helsinki process must be strictly observed. Violence has no place in solving social and political issues, the Freedom Party's statement pointed out.

Youth Daily Censures Authorities

AU2311173389 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Nov 89 p 2

[Libor Sevcik in the "A Commentary" column: "About Prudence"]

[Text] What we have been witnessing in the past few days and hours is no coincidence. It is the consequence of the longstanding contradiction between words and deeds, between proclamations and everyday experience. Any astute public official must have realized that that it is impossible only to keep on promising things ad infinitum and believe in people's passivity and indifference. Postponing political reforms and not seeking ways out of the blind alley in which our society has found itself is the direct reason why people took to the streets. The intervention by the security forces in Narodni Trida on Friday [17 November] was only the proverbial last drop that made the cup of patience run over.

Since the very beginning of the events we have been appealing for prudence and responsibility; for prudence also when making decisions, for responsibility from those responsible. One cannot irresponsibly hide forever behind already outdated conclusions that are regarded as having eternal validity. Just as taboo subjects and ordered truths cannot exist forever.

Without political reforms, without a truly open dialogue with all who are not indifferent to the fate of this country, a genuine solution cannot be found. Yes, by using power it is possible to maintain an untenable situation for some time. However, the later it is dealt with, the more complex, the more painful it will become, affecting all spheres of our life. The statement of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union of 20 November proposes a solution. The Youth Union has a program. In the present situation it is irresponsible to disparage it, and it makes no difference whether this is done from the top or the bottom, from the right or from the left. The hot autumn which we are experiencing, must not become a frosty, all-paralyzing winter.

Charter 77 Signatory Views Urbanek as 'Opening'

LD2611121589 Paris Domestic Service in French 0900 GMT 26 Nov 89

["Excerpt" of interview with Charter 77 signatory Jaroslav Jirut by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Jirut] It is a significant departure from those who prepared the Soviet invasion in 1968. That is a fact. Mr Urbanek himself as an apparatchik is, in my opinion, quite dull. We do not know him very well. They say he is a good speaker, I have never heard him either on television or on radio, but I have read his articles which appeared in RUDE PRAVO and didn't find in them very many original ideas. In my opinion it is a compromise. But in any case this change has created an opening. The situation has really changed. As to how long the demonstrations in the streets will continue, my view is that they may continue for another few days, but all this depends on what Mr Urbanek will do in days to come. [passage omitted]

Council of Ministers Rejects Reunification

LD3011153589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1452 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of Ministers in a statement gave its complete agreement to the appeal by renowned public figures of the GDR "for our country." The government sees itself in agreement with the overwhelming majority of the population, that a reunification of Germany in the form of the annexation of the GDR by the FRG is not on the agenda, government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer said on Thursday at the weekly news conference in Berlin.

With regard to a commentary in the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] paper DER MORGEN on the publication of the draft travel law [yesterday DER MORGEN criticized restrictions on foreigners' rights to buy goods in the GDR] Wolfgang Meyer stressed that this report was false and lacked any journalistic care and responsibility. ADN, television and radio are solely under the jurisdiction of the GDR government. No one else had the right to give instructions to the media. Wolfgang Meyer said that the Council of Ministers Press Office would be renamed the GDR Press and Information Service.

Decisions were made on lifting the decree and regulations on the activity of foreign publication organs and journalists in the GDR. Further decisions affect the import of 500,000 tons of animal feed for around 160 million valuta marks as well as the formation of an Office for Youth and Sports in the Council of Ministers, chaired by Dr Wilfried Possner.

Krenz Signs Appeal To Preserve GDR Autonomy

LD2911132989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1228 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, GDR State Council chairman and Socialist Unity Party of Germany general secretary, has added his signature to the appeal "for our country" for the preservation of the autonomy of the GDR.

He sent a communication to the initiators of the appeal, which was read out loud today at an international news conference. [passage omitted]

In his letter, Egon Krenz said that he had learned of the appeal "with great satisfaction." He shared the assessment on the seriousness of the situation and agreed that the republic was standing at a crossroad.

"Be assured," he writes, "that I will do everything in my power to help ensure the development of a society of solidarity in our country, which guarantees peace and social justice, freedom of the individual, freedom of movement for all, and the preservation of the environment." He adds: "We have the historic responsibility to maintain this country with its antifascist and humanist ideals and traditions as a socialist alternative of German development."

Group Issues Appeal To Preserve Autonomy

LD2811182289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1531 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The appeal "For our Country," for the preservation of GDR autonomy, has been read out loud by writer Stefan Heym during an international news conference in Berlin today.

"We still have the chance," it says, "in equal neighborly relations with all the countries of Europe, to develop a socialist alternative to the Federal Republic. We can still reflect upon the antifascist and humanist ideals from which we once started."

The initiators and the first to sign are figures from public life, writers, doctors, workers and representatives of various opposition groups, who represent a broad spectrum and have distinguished themselves in the past through their personal integrity.

As Stefan Heym stressed, the appeal touches upon questions which are particularly important at this time, since FRG Chancellor Kohl has begun to "make overtures."

The signatories intend their appeal to be seen as a vote of confidence in the country and as a social clarification process.

The final version of the appeal "For our Country," drawn up by the writer Christie Wolf, reads:

Our country is in deep crisis. We can no longer live as we have lived to date, nor would we wish to. The leadership of one party had assumed control over the people and its representative bodies—structures characterized by Stalinism had penetrated all areas of life.

By mass demonstrations, and without violence, the people have forced the process of revolutionary renewal, which is being executed with breathtaking speed. We have little time to bring an influence to bear on the various possibilities which present themselves as solutions to the crisis.

Either we can insist upon the autonomy of the GDR and attempt, with all our forces and in cooperation with those states and interest groups which are willing, to develop a socialst society in our country, to guarantee peace and social justice, freedom of the individual, freedom of movement for all the preservation of the environment.

Or we must tolerate, as a result of strong economic pressure and unacceptable conditions, to which influential economic and political circles of the Federal Republic link their aid, the start of a sell-out of our material and moral values and the absorption, sooner or later, of the GDR by the FRG.

Let us take the first step. We still have the chance, in equal neighborly relations with all the countries of Europe, to develop a socialist alternative to the FRG. We can still reflect upon the anti-racist and humanist ideals from which we once started. We appeal to all citizens who share our hope and our concern to add their signature to this appeal.

Momper Cited on Kohl Reunification Speech

LD2911125789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1122 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] West Berlin (ADN)—The possible confederation with the GDR advocated by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, should not, in the opinion of West Berlin's governing Mayor Walter Momber, "be misused as a strategy for absorbing the second German State". It should be a genuine partnership with a democratized GDR, which necessitates a new relationship of trust between the two German states, Momper said today in West Berlin.

In Momper's view, Khol's government statement corresponds largely to the strategy in "Germany policy" proposed by the West Berlin Senate. In spite of differences in rhetoric, it is clear that Khol, too, is now concerned with ensuring the practical organization of the cooperation with the GDR and to stabilize the GDR's democratization.

NDPD Welcomes Kohl Confederation Plan

LD2911140589 Hamburg DPA in German 1241 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The National Democratic Party of the GDR [NDPD] has welcomed Chancellor Helmut Kohl's 10-point plan for a confederation as a future model for cooperation between the FRG and the GDR. The chairman of the NDPD, Guenter Hartmann, stressed when speaking to the press today, that within this model the aim must be a market economy for the GDR, but with the preservation of the present conditions of property for GDR citizens.

Only with the reform of the socialist system in the GDR is the existence of the GDR as a "democratic socialist state" guaranteed. "But we need a renewed democratic socialism."

Hartmann provisionally rejected the idea of reunification. The first thing is to "carefully" build up, in a comprehensive way cooperation with the FRG and the "fulfillment of shared responsibility." The NDPD is thinking here, initially, of setting up joint bodies in the economic, scientific, and cultural sectors. The possibility of reunification, which did not arise for the NDPD "either today or tomorrow," must be left to the future. Any cooperation with the FRG's NPD [National Democratic Party] or the Republicans was rejected by Hartmann, in the future also.

Commentary on Effects of Confederation on Peace

AU3011111989 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 23 Nov 89 p 2

[Gerhard Pahl commentary: "Confederation and Peace"]

[Text] I am convinced that the appeal issued by the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] to revive the idea of the confederation will be approved by many citizens in both German states—at least it will initiate thoughtfulness.

I am moved by this appeal in particular because, as a scientist who had just obtained his doctorate in international law, I was instructed by the BERLINER ZEITUNG to work out a few ideas on a confederation of both German states in August 1957. In my article (editorial of the BERLINER ZEITUNG on 17 August 1957), I proceeded from the GDR Government's declared concern to bring about a peaceful reunification—but that is not on the agenda today! —through a gradual rapprochement of the two German states on the basis of negotiations and treaties. The first significant step on this path was to be the adoption of an international treaty as proposed by the GDR People's Chamber at its 27th plenary assembly to unite the GDR and the FRG in a confederation; a federation of states. This step was then rejected by the FRG Government under its Chancellor Adenauer and by his Foreign Minister Brentano.

Today we have arrived at a turning point in the history of the GDR, a situation which is completely different from that of 1957, but still very similar in certain aspects.

The FRG Government under Chancellor Kohl makes statements on a reunification of Germany, denies the recognition of the GDR citizenship under international law, and allows demands for the restoration of the 1937 borders to flare up again.

It seems that all these viewponts of the present FRG Government have been plagiarized from the so-called "Berlin Declaration" of 29 July 1957 and its 12-point program. According to Erich Ollenhauer, then chairman of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany, this "Berlin Declaration" has deepened the split between Germany and Europe, as the "Berlin Declaration" signed by Adenauer's Foreign Minister Brentano and the American, British, and French ambassadors at the city hall in Berlin-Schoeneberg continues the military bloc policy. Also the press service of the Free Democratic Party took a similar view on the "Berlin Declaration" and called it a negation of the two German states' responsibility under international law in view of the international situation at that time.

The idea of a confederation revived by the NDPD chairman at the People's Chamber meeting on 17 November 1989 ought to be appreciated and taken into account as an urgent appeal to the governments of both

German states, now and in the near future, to undertake everything necessary to promote a cooperative coexistence and a confederation of both German states and to stop everything opposing that.

Confederations are international legal structures of at least two sovereign states which, being autonomous under international law, also retain their sovereignty within a confederation. And this is how a confederation, as a federation of states, differs from a federal state. The FRG is one of the federal states that exist within the current group of federal states as defined by international law. But, except for the British Commonwealth, there are no confederations at present. Earlier there were the Swiss Confederation (until 1848), the Confederate States of America (1778-1789), and the so-called Germanic Confederation (1815-1866).

The federation of states, generally called confederation, is an association of sovereign states on the basis of an international treaty, in which certain political affairs are handled by federal organs. Thus, the federation of states is an organized political association of states. The capacity of the states united in a confederation to act under international law is only limited by the particular international law norms of the federal treaty (See Verdross, "International Law", Vienna 1955, p 279).

A confederation of both German states could be a target of the GDR's and FRG's foreign and domestic policies. It would be the beginning of a truly cooperative coexistence. A confederation of both German states could bring about a real zone of peace in Central Europe—and now there is the opportunity for that.

Visas Only Available at Some Crossing Points

AU3011161189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Nov 89 p 8

[Ute Bekeschus report: "Visas Are Always Available—But Not Everywhere"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] As of the coming weekend [2-3 December], presumably until Christmas, visas will only be available at certain crossing points—from 1000 [1100 GMT] onward at Friedrich-Strasse station, Potsdam Square, in Eberswalder Strasse, and at the Oberbaum and Jannowitz bridges. The police officers will stay there with their stamps or leave the sites as required. However, they will not leave without providing information on other possibilities. Thus, people can inquire around 10 o'clock at the Foreigners' Registration Office at the House of Travel. This also applies, of course, to GDR citizens.

Nobody needs to be in a hurry concerning a passport for trips to East Berlin or the FRG. Passports are issued within 3 days if needed for countries where passports have to be submitted. Otherwise, a period of 4-6 weeks is required for issuing passports. One of the reasons is that the printing office in Leipzig can hardly cope with the large number of applications.

Commentator Apologizes for Prague Spring Invasion

LD2911182589 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1824 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Commentary by Guenter Leuschner]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Now the time of renovation has come for Prague as well. Many of the present events in our neighbouring country remind us of the changes in our own country. The motives are most likely to a great extent the same, or at least very similar. What the people in Prague or Bratislava want for the future will probably be identical to the demands that make people go out onto the street in Leipzig or Dresden or Berlin. But of course, there is also a difference. In Czechoslovakia there was the year 1968; the program of a democratic socialism initiated by the party under the leadership of Aleksander Dubcek ended when the Warsaw Pact troops, including the GDR, marched in.

Thus, we finally have to face an issue which has been a taboo for many years and which still is difficult for anyone to face—for me as well, because at the time I was in Prague several times, and I supported this invasion in my reports from that area. How did we view the situation in those days? I think many of us understood quite well that numerous reasons for dissatisfaction had accumulated in the CSSR, which the new leadership of the party was determined to remove. We were also fascinated to see the people's enthusiasm for Aleksander Dubcek with his program for a humanitarian socialism. In the first phase of the movement, we were true supporters.

This changed very fast when we thought—and we were made to believe—that such forces were pushing forward in this movement, which were not interested in a better socialism but in something else. At that time we thought that the party was rapidly losing its ability to survive. The slogan came up that socialism had to be saved from counterrevolution. It was taken to justify the things to come.

Yes, that is how it was in 1968; it was like that before the background of the cold war in Europe, at a time when there was still something like a Brezhnev doctrine and no perestroyka, when nobody dared yet dream of a common European home, when CSCE did not yet exist, and we in the GDR were still struggling for international acknowledgement which the capitalist countries had been withholding from us for decades. All of that had an influence on our assessment, on our opinion at that time. Our main concern was that socialism was in danger, and we did not see the chances the Prague spring offered for socialism as a whole. We still felt surrounded by a hostile world. We still had the impression that we were the weaker ones with no other way to defend ourselves. [passage omitted] We really believed we had saved socialism. [passage omitted]

That is how we saw the world at that time, but much of our view was not wrong. Wrong were the conclusions not to believe in the people, to believe in the means of power, and to believe in solving political issues by such means.

It is futile to discuss today how the development in our neighboring country would have continued without what happened—nobody had a right to do such things. The only thing we can do now is to apologize after the fact for what happened then and to be grateful that a repetition is not possible in 1989.

Commentary Criticizes Romania's Ceausescu

AU3011103889 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 22 Nov 89 p 2

[Michael Albrecht commentary: "Gap Between Claim and Reality"]

[Text] "Born to carry the bright light of freedom in the land of our forefathers, in the glow of the Carpathian mountains, to serve the common weal, now and forever, with the skill of legendary heroes' deeds."

If you think these lines describe an ancestor of the thousand-year-old history of the Romanian people, then you are completely wrong, for this praise is for Nicolae Ceausescu, the present general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], now holding its 14th Party Congress in Bucharest. Even today I can imagine the layout of the Romanian German-language paper NEUER WEG, carrying pages on the report of the "great conducator" (great leader), as Ceausescu likes to call himself, and praising the "successes" of the Romanian path toward socialism in bold red banner headlines.

It really needs more than a good deal of naivete to detect some realism in the way the Romanian media present this man. Dozens of eager verse mongers and rhymesters praise him, surrounding the 71-year-old Ceausescu in their poems and odes with an aura of "holiness" even during his lifetime. Since 1965, the party head has been ruling the Balkan country which in nearly all sectors finds itself in the deepest low of its development so far. But when Ceausescu speaks of mistakes and shortcomings, of violations of the socialist principles in his 5-hour report interrupted by more than 100 cheers, he is only referring to those happening before he came into office. And the then-Ninth Party Congress overcame all deficits and did away with dogmatism and stereotypes.

If this were true, Romania's situation would be quite different today. The country has been able to get rid of its considerable foreign debts in a "forced ride" of drastic economic self-restraints breaking into the last stocks—but at what price? Only recently, the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Saxony made an appeal to help the people in Romania overcome their desolate living conditions by sending Christmas food parcels. At present the rations laid down by the state only provide 100 grams of fat, 500 grams of sugar, and 500 grams of flour per person per month, not to mention the huge deficits concerning nearly all goods for everyday consumption. Is this the "success of that grand epoch under Ceausescu" as described again and again in the speeches of praise?

It is a pity that even Romania's churches have not had the strength and courage to resolutely oppose this development, this unbearable personality cult through word and deed. And it only points up the degree of intimidation and submission when, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Romania's independence, the country's bishops honored Ceausescu with praises like "most beloved son of our country" and "most outstanding leading figure of the world." In this way, the church dignitaries accumulate a mortgage of decreasing trust, which will take many years to be redeemed.

And the fact that many great communist and workers' parties did not send a delegation to the 14th RCP Congress—the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is only represented by an observer—should make it clear how far the regime in Bucharest has maneuvered itself out of the international developments, how big the country's isolation has become. The closure of the borders and the temporary total blockade of tourism and the rigid encroachments even regarding official trips—measures that were poorly excused as increased safety measures on the occasion of the Party Congress—all this clearly reveals an increasing Boer-type "corral" mentality, incapable of reforms and unrelenting against critics.

Now the questions is: How long will they still sing the song in honor of the "great hero" in Romanian history in the Romanian capital, the hero who only 1 year ago was highly honored by being awarded a GDR order? In any case, the agenda of the party congress that was reduced at short notice by 1 day of consultations, also includes the election of the RCP general secretary. But at present everything indicates that it will again be Nicolae Ceausescu.

Daily Advocates Normal Relations With Israel

LD3011141989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0408 GMT 30 Nov 89

["BERLINER ZEITUNG on GDR-Israeli Relations"—ADN headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] A rethinking of the relationship with Israel is one of the necessary conclusions for foreign policy resulting from the democratic changes in our country. The GDR ... has the duty to normalize relations. That is, however, complicated, and requires a considered approach. Some of the difficulties arise because of serious violations of international law, which cannot be ignored, by various Israeli governments toward Arab neighboring states, in particular toward the Palestinian people. Relations with Israel can, and must not be, at the expense of those states which were victims of expansionist efforts by reactionary holders of power in Israel. But diplomatic relations are not identical with an acceptance of such practices.... It must be clear: Israel's right to exist, like its Arab neighbors, in secure borders cannot be ignored. And other states, which advocate just as much as we do that the present unbearable situation in the Near East be solved by treaty, justly, and acceptably in equal measure for Arabs and Jews, have relations with

Israel. If we wish to help, within the framework of our modest means, so that such a solution comes about, then we also need such relations. For this reason we should now normalize, step by step, our relationship with the Jewish state.

Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky Visits for Talks

Vranitzky Arrives

LD2411104489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0955 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky arrived in Berlin this morning on an official working visit. He was invited by GDR Premier Hans Modrow.

Talks began this morning at the official seat of the premier; they are to be followed by the signing of an agreement on the focal points of economic cooperation between the two countries in 1990.

The federal chancellor arrived at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport this morning, where he was greeted by Economics Minister Dr Gerhard Beil.

During his stay in the GDR capital, Vranitzky is also to meet representatives of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], SDP [Social Democratic Party], and New Forum. He will then meet the governing mayor of Berlin (West) for an exchange of views.

Before his visit, Vranitzky told the foreign press union in Vienna that he wanted to give a "useful signal" with his visit to the GDR. The present aim should be to translate interest in the restructuring processes in the GDR into action.

Vranitzky yesterday announced the establishment of an East-West fund totaling an initial 5 billion schillings, which will provide guarantees in absorbing debts of the East European countries through participation by Austrian firms in those countries (debt-equity swaps).

Meets Modrow

LD2411123489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1141 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Today in Berlin, GDR Premier Dr Hans Modrow and Austrian Federal Chancellor Dr Franz Vranitzky discussed possibilities for further expanding bilateral relations. Modrow explained to his guest, who had come to the GDR on an official working visit at Modrow's invitation, the process of comprehensive renewal of socialist society in the GDR. The GDR politician stressed that the yardstick and guiding principle of his government's foreign and security policy were actions serving peace, international understanding, and security.

The GDR is opening up to a world in which mutual interdependence emerged ever more clearly, said the host. The GDR favors overcoming the division of Europe, which could not be an overcoming of the different social orders. Existing borders and alliance membership of the states are a fundamental element of European security.

The aim today is to advance the CSCE process, in which all principles and recommendations of the CSCE document are consistently implemented, said the government chief. The GDR stood by this obligation in its own country and in relations with other states. It attached great importance to European policy and gave priority to all initiatives for a European home.

The GDR prime minister and Austrian federal chancellor expressed satisfaction about the fact that bilateral relations have for a long time been developing without problems and have reached a high level. The trusting political dialogue in many spheres has decisively contributed to this.

The talk was attended on the GDR side by Foreign Minister Dr Gerhard Beil, who warmly greeted the federal chancellor and his entourage at Berlin-Schoenefeld airport this morning. Dr Vranitzky is accompanied by the Cabinet chief of the federal chancellor, Dr Johann Sereinig, and envoy Frau Dr Eva Nowotny, special adviser to the federal chancellor, as well as other public figures.

Hans Modrow greeted his guest in front of the official seat of the Council of Ministers. Both government heads answered initial questions from journalists there. Asked about expectations of his GDR visit, Franz Vranitzky pointed to the preparation of the agreement on the main focus for economic cooperation between both countries for 1990. This had now to be given its political blessing, which would surely take place today. It should thereby give a sign that the bilateral cooperation, which had shown itself to be very positive over many years, will be further continued and improved.

The bilateral cooperation should, Vranitzky said further, be seen from the viewpoint of the reforms taking place at present in the GDR. He saw that as constructive; one should cooperate as before on the basis of word and deed, not on the basis of any kind of attempted patronizing. That was not his way of doing things.

Following the meeting between both politicians, the GDR prime minister hosted a luncheon in the Palais Unter den Linden in Berlin in honor of the Austrian federal chancellor. Both politicians praised in brief toasts their talks today as a good opportunity to continue the traditional political dialogue between the GDR and Austria.

During his stay in the GDR capital Vranitzky will meet in the course of the day with representatives of the Christian Democratic Union, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and New Forum. Then he intends to meet the governing mayor of Berlin (West) for a discussion. [passage omitted]

Modrow, Vranitzky Comment

LD2411153789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1304 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The path to European peace could only be reached through real disarmament. "For that reason active peace policy will continue in the future to be part of the GDR's identity." This was stated by Prime Minister Dr Hans Modrow this afternoon during a luncheon for Austrian Federal Chancellor Dr Hans Vranitzky. Modrow said he was "gratified that we largely agree in our talks on the questions of disarmament and strengthening of European peace." The GDR regarded cooperative security as a system of political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian relations among the states of Europe as a goal worth seeking. States with different social orders were firm, democratic building blocks of the future common European home. The existence of states in the present borders and their alliance membership remained a basic element of European security. There must be no uncertainty about this.

The prime minister thanked his guest for the interest which the latter and the population of Austria—which regarded the GDR in the broad sense as a neighboring country—showed in the current process of development in the GDR. "Our present, extremely constructive talks as well as the economic agreement which we have just signed bear out our optimism that we will not only maintain the good state of our relations but continue our cooperation on a higher level. The GDR is deeply interested in this. This also includes new forms of direct cooperative relations between enterprises and institutions of our countries, which better meet the requirements of international development. In this sense the GDR is very open to proposals from Austrian partners."

In his reply Dr Vranitzky thanked him for the opportunity to tackle an important program within a working talk arranged at extremely short notice to also enable an important signal to be set in the two countries, but hopefully also beyond that in central Europe. He agreed with his host that the economic and cultural relations as well as other indirect possibilities for contacts between representatives of the two countries and citizens could serve as a good model for how European states with different political orientation deal with each other over the years and decades.

Vranitzky stated: "We signed an important treaty today. We agreed to aim for further cooperation above and beyond this." He learned with great satisfaction and gratification that the GDR prime minister will soon take part in a discussion on Austrian television, and he was certain it will make a further contribution to an understanding of what are the premier's intentions in this country. It was in particular this understanding of one another, finding out what the other side is planning, what it is aiming at and where it would like to go that is an important contribution toward the peoples understanding one another. "For it will not be sufficient for us to sign treaties here, it will be necessary for each people to understand what is really taking place in the other country and what aims are being realized."

At the official residence of the Council of Ministers chairman, Hans Modrow and Franz Vranitzky signed an agreement on points of emphasis in economic cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of Austria in 1990.

The agreement built on the solid economic relations to date between the GDR and Austria, it says in a press release conveyed to ADN. The parties had spoken in favor of, starting from the traditionally good relations in imports and exports, promoting and developing industrial cooperation between enterprises and combines in the GDR and Austrian firms to a greater extent in the future. Immediately after the Austrian federal chancellor's visit the GDR side would give its first ideas on this to its Austrian partner.

Discussions would be held on this in December of this year both with the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and the Austrian Nationalized Industries Holding Company. During the talks Dr Vranitzky emphasized Austria's readiness to closely and pragmatically cooperate with enterprises, combines and economic management bodies in the GDR, says the press release. To this end visible examples and results in industrial co-operation should "quickly" be achieved. Included in this are the exchange of environmental protection technology, cooperation in the traditional area of heavy engineering as well as the import and export of consumer goods, as well as GDR industry's export products.

The GDR premier gave an interview to Austrian journalists in front of the official seat of the prime minister. He said in response to a relevant question that he expected a businesslike attitude and trust in the forthcoming talks. This conviction was based on the good relations which have existed between the GDR and Austria for many years. In his view the current situation in the GDR promoted not only the continuation but also expansion of the tradition of visits by the Austrian Government chief. He was very pleased that the first Western head of government to come to the GDR after his accession to office was Franz Vranitzky, a representative of a neutral country. Bilateral economic cooperation can be further expanded precisely on the basis of today's meeting. He was convinced that promising results would emerge from the consultations.

Asked about the future of socialism in the GDR, Hans Modrow referred to his government statement. The concept he submitted was aimed at the renewal of socialism. He did not anticipate a breakdown of that social order but a situation which has also come about in other countries, in which one had to think afresh and seek new beginnings. Capitalism had not made it to the present day without obstacles either after the bourgeois revolution. The socialist social order must be given a chance, which it itself also must give itself.

The prime minister said the Socialist Unity Party of Germany proceeded like every political party on the assumption that it would survive and would not give up even in difficult times. Its political concept must now be revised and considered afresh to again fight for trust on that basis. That is his intention.

Modrow again spoke out in favor of a roundtable dialogue. The preparatory talks for the formation of his government had been a type of "roundtable." The course of the talks had shown that real partners had faced each other. There must, however, also be dialogue with other, newly formed social forces. It is his principle that whoever wins trust, which was undoubtedly also the case with these groupings, must take the step toward responsibility. Whoever does not take that step will ultimately not help bring about anything in this country, said Hans Modrow. In that sense joint responsibility had to be established in the roundtable talks.

Modrow Answers Questions

AU2411150089 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Report by Michael Kerbler on news conference with Prime Minister Hans Modrow and Chancellor Franz Vranitzky at the Council of Ministers building—date not given]

[Text] GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow, in a gesture of the new openness, answered journalists' questions prior to the arrival of Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky. In the hall of the Council of Ministers building, Modrow extensively answered journalists' questions. The sole topic was the social changes in the GDR. He thinks that despite the bad results for the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] during recent opinion polls—which reveal about 14 percent support for the SED—his party has a real chance to carry out social renewal. However, the party must first win back the confidence of the population. The new travel regulations are a first step in this direction. The roundtable talks, within the framework of which dialogue with all socially relevant groups in the GDR will soon be established, are another measure in this respect. Prime Minister Hans Modrow on the roundtable talks:

[Begin Modrow recording] The preparation of my government was already the beginning of roundtable talks as it were, because coalition work, for which I was responsible, has never been carried out this way in the GDR. One could see from the way the talks were conducted that there were real partners on both sides. As far as your question regarding parties is concerned: We held talks as equal partners, while at the same time trying to fill the things that we have in common with new contents for the new phase of our development, but not to give them up.

At the same time we know that political forces are forming and developing in the country with whom we must also enter into talks. In this connection, I act according to the following principle: Those who enjoy the confidence of the population, which is the case with these groupings—one cannot overlook that—must also take a step toward assuming responsibility. Those who do not take this step will ultimately not influence anything in this country. The citizens will find this out very quickly. Thus, I view the roundtable as a table where common responsibility must be built up now, and then things will turn out differently. The situation is completely different when somebody is involved and has to assume responsibility. This will ultimately have to be the outcome of the roundtable talks. One cannot participate in roundtable talks in order to discuss issues. We will also have to discuss responsibility at the roundtable. [end recording]

Thus, the opposition must be involved in the responsibility for future developments in the GDR through elections, Modrow suggested.

[Begin recording] [Modrow] Elections will show who will participate in the government. The People's Chamber has established a committee to deal with that.

[Unidentified reporter] When will elections be held?

[Modrow] This will be decided by the People's Chamber. The State Council will have to decide that. However, an electoral law must be drafted before that, and in my view such a draft might be presented in spring. Then it will be in our common interest to set a date, because currently nobody in this country is interested—let me put it this way—in going to the polls at Christmas. [end recording]

Asked about the responsibility of the old GDR regime, including Erich Honecker's responsibility, for the bad economic situation and their possible punishment, Modrow stated:

[Begin Modrow recording] I am not the person who has to pass judgments. There are committees that have been set up for this purpose. It was reported today that Guenter Mittag has been expelled from the SED. Thus, it is clear that the control commission of my party is dealing with these questions, and a decision has been made concerning the part that belongs to the sphere of moral responsibility which is linked with a party. All other issues are legal issues, and those who have to administer justice must deal with them. I openly state that I am not in favor of condemning people before a judgment has been passed. This applies to all problems. I do not protect anybody. However, let me also openly say that infuriating the populace is not making policy. In such a complicated situation, everybody must try to be objective on all issues and to pass judgment on this basis. I made this clear in the government statement. I am firmly convinced that law must prevail for everyone, both for civilians and for persons in uniform, and law must be administered by those who are responsible for that. [end recording]

Prime Minister Hans Modrow and Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, after an hour-long comprehensive exchange

of views on the current situation in the GDR, signed the new trade agreement. Vranitzky summarized:

[Begin recording] [Vranitzky] Today we signed a very extensive and comprehensive agreement on economic cooperation between the GDR and Austria. I believe that not only the fact that this agreement was signed but also the point of time when it was signed is very significant for relations between our two countries. Reforms—political and economic reforms—are currently being carried out in the GDR. These reforms are being noted with great interest, with great and active support, and with a great deal of sympathy in Austria. I would like to see relations between these two states which have developed in a very positive manner over the past years and decades in the light of the fact that cooperation between two partners, also at this time and in this situation, constructively influences the reforms which the GDR has decided to carry out.

[Kerbler] Do you have the impression that you have arrived in the GDR at a historic moment?

[Vranitzky] I think that historic moments are usually described and judged as such in retrospect. However, I am certain and convinced that this is a very significant day, a significant day for relations between our two countries, and I hope also a significant day as a signal in Europe. [end recording]

Prime Minister Modrow stated that the relations of partnerships between Austria and the GDR might be a model for the Bonn government for its relations with the GDR. Let me add a little sensation: Prime Minister Modrow has expressed his willingness to be the guest of Austrian television's "Presse Hour" program aired on Sundays. [end recording]

Cooperation Discussed

LD2411195389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1709 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—This meeting between neutral Austria and the GDR is also a signal to the FRG. It should be seen there that cooperation proceeding on such an equal basis is thoroughly exemplary for cooperative relations in the Common European Home. GDR Premier Dr Hans Modrow stated this to journalists after he and Federal Chancellor Dr Franz Vranitzky signed in Berlin today an economic agreement between the GDR and Austria. For his part Vranitzky stressed that industry in the two countries valued cooperation. It is a matter of achieving turnover and providing jobs for the work force. For this reason the "very comprehensive" treaty just signed refers not only to supplying goods but also to cooperation "along the path of joint companies, along the path of working out projects in third markets." It also deals with rules on new regulations on customs tarriffs between the two countries. Asked about his views on a "reunification of Germany," the Austrian chancellor replied that he places "the greatest emphasis on stating" that this is a matter which has to be settled by the Germans. [passage omitted]

SED Holds Demonstration in Leipzig

LD2911215689 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] This evening, well over 10,000 party members—including many people with ties to documentary films—demonstrated for the unity of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and against the reunification of the two German states. In Dimitroff Platz in Leipzig, speakers rejected the SED's collective guilt. They demanded an immediate and radical renewal of the SED, without waiting for party congress decisions. This process must not be delayed by further lies and half-truths about the former leadership's criminal guilt. The participants expressed concern about the nationalist tone of the latest Monday demonstrations. After Leipzig had given a decisive impetus for renewal, no swing to the right must come from that city. A confederation with the FRG was the first step toward absorption. A speaker calling for a referendum on reunification was greeted with boos and whistles.

New Forum Organizes Demonstrations in Towns

LD2911232489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2248 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Several thousand Frankfurt (Oder) residents this evening took part in a demonstration registered by New Forum with the Area (Bezirk) Office for National Security. In a resolution read aloud by a spokesman for the initiative group, area authorities and district (kreis) State Prosecutor's Office officials were called on to speak to a New Forum commission by 10 December. A demand was also made for the structures and budget of the office to be made public, and to make possible a visit to all the office's premises within the framework of the commission's talks.

During the short rally which followed, chants such as "No violence," and "Stasis into the productive sector" were repeatedly heard.

This evening a demonstration called by New Forum began at the Evangelical Church in Ilmenau (Suhl Area). ADN learned from the organizer that approximately 15,000 citizens took part in the southern Thuringian district (Kreis) capital. Peter Zoerbel from the New Forum's Council of Spokesmen said during the rally that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has abused its claim to leadership and has thus thrown away its role in history. Other speakers spoke against a reunification of the two German states and demanded a more committed environmental consciousness.

In the Karl-Marx-Stadt area, the sixth Wednesday demonstration to date was held in Limbach-Oberfrohna. Ten thousand citizens marched through the town to the

venue for the rally. They called for free elections and "SED out of the enterprises" in chants.

New Forum Holds First Official Rally

AU2811152489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Nov 89 p 2

[ND/ADN report: "Rallies in Many Towns of Our Country"]

[Text] Leipzig (ND/ADN)—About 30,000 citizens from Leipzig and the surrounding area met in Dimitroffplatz on Saturday [18 November] for the first authorized rally of New Forum. About two dozen women and men—there were about 200 applications to make a speech—took the floor at the manifestation, which lasted about 3 hours. Among other things, they called for free elections, the renunciation of the SED's [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] leading role, equal cooperation among all parties and organizations, the reduction of the security organs, in particular of the state security service, greater inclusion of women in policy and economy, the abolition of any kind of censorship, free press and publishing houses, public control of the media, and immediate measures to improve environmental conditions in the Leipzig conurbation.

In addition to workers, housewives, artists, and university graduates of New Forum, representatives of the "Democratic Awakening" [Demokratischer Aufbruch] movement, of the newly founded Social Democratic Party, of the united left, the "Peace and Human Rights" initiative, and of handicapped people took the floor.

Thousands of signatures on lists available for signing expressed agreement with the demand for providing the possibility of holding referendums, which would have to be approved by the Constitution.

Other rallies took place in, among other cities, Berlin, Dresden, Frankfurt/Oder, Gera, Eberswalde-Finow, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Suhl, and Plauen.

New Forum Briefs Press on Economic Discussion

LD2611193389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1853 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The New Forum will cooperate with all progressive forces in the GDR in dealing with existing economic problems. This was stated by Dr Pavel Strohner, who faced an international news conference today after the conclusion of a special meeting of New Forum, along with other members of the organizing committee. At the 2-day conference, economic experts from home and abroad discussed experiences of reforms in the East European countries and economic reform in the GDR.

Complete programs cannot be conjured up out of thin air, said Strohner. But now a certain dynamism has arisen in developing and presenting ideas. In the discussion it became obvious that very complicated conditions exist for social renewal and that in the future ecological questions have to be directly integrated into the economy.

Press questions related, among other things, to the political aims of the New Forum. After it had been stressed that differing opinions exist alongside each other within the organization, Hans-Joachim Matuschek said, as organizer: "We want to help enable the GDR people to decide quite autonomously about their society." He himself will always favor a "second or third path" beyond the existing systems.

New Forum on Possible 'Electoral Alliance'

LD2511101389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0654 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The New Forum views itself as a political platform for a broad political dialogue. The spokeswoman for the association, Ingrid Koeppe, stated in an interview published today in the BERLINER ZEITUNG, that two commissions are currently working out the drafts of a program and a statute. The results will be made available for discussion in the grass-roots groups in mid-December. At the beginning of January, the results of the debate will again be assessed and worked into the drafts. After a second round of discussions in the grass-roots groups, both documents will most likely be passed on 27 January at the New Forum's founding conference. The association is ready in principle to take on political responsibility in the relevant bodies, too, the spokeswoman stated. "We are just as ready in principle to work with all opposition parties and movements in our country for democratic renewal, in an electoral alliance if applicable." The New Forum's main concern is activating the grass roots in such a way "that everyone feels responsible for what is happening in our country." Everyone should develop alternatives for himself and argue for the recovery of his right to have a say.

In its founding appeal, it says that all efforts to which New Forum would like to give voice and expression are based on the desire for justice, democracy, peace, as well as the protection and maintenance of nature.

Former Chairman Tisch Expelled From FDGB

LD2911185189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1725 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At their 11th session in Berlin today, the members of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] National Executive elected a working secretariat as the new leadership.

Former FDGB Chairman Harry Tisch was unanimously expelled from the National Executive and the FDGB in his absence. FDGB Chairperson Annelis Kimmel justified this act in her report by saying: "This is in the interests of thousands of honest honorary and full-time FDGB officials, all of its members, and the reshaping of the trade unions which has begun." Referring to Tisch's

activities in Eixener Forest, she stated that an investigation by the state prosecutor and the ad hoc People's Chamber Committee to clarify the misuse of office and corruption are under way. The former chairman did not take part in the meeting. Press spokesman for the National Executive Wolfgang Aier said in response to journalists questions: "He is out sick."

FDGB Submits Document on Trade Union Role

LD2911132689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1146 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR trade union federation FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] has, from today, a temporary leading body to direct the work of the organization until the extraordinary trade union congress at the end of January 1990. [passage omitted]

During the discussion, the Federal Executive submitted a basic document on the role of the trade unions in the process of renewal in the GDR. The proposed title of "What Are the Trade Unions Now and What Do They Want?" is to be discussed publicly.

According to the document, the content and aim of the work is to protect and implement the political, legal, economic, social, and cultural interests of the trade union members, above all at work. It is important to regain trust. The trade unions have the duty and real opportunities, with the start of the reforms of the political system and the economic and legal order, to guarantee the place and the rights necessary for comprehensive protection of the interests of the trade union members. To this end, efforts should be made to establish a law on trade union rights, and discussion should be held with the members.

The trade unions in the GDR would not, in the future, be linked to political parties; their political orientation would result exclusively from representing the interest of their members, according to the document. They are in favor of a state of democracy and socialism, in which peaceful work, social justice, and social security are guaranteed to all; a state in which power comes from the people, a state of peace and antifascism. The FDGB advocates a new constitution and a new electoral law.

The preservation of unity is described as a fundamental requirement for the effectiveness of the trade unions in representing the interests of their members. The activity of the grass-roots organizations, of the autonomous industrial and other trade unions, is a prerequisite for this.

The FDGB supports economic reform in the GDR and considers it essential to guarantee full employment and to create the material conditions necessary for social security. In its international work, the FDGB aims for understanding and cooperation with all trade unions in the struggle for the preservation of peace and for social progress. [passage omitted]

SED Party Control Commission Meets

LD2911211289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1827 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Central Party Control Commission of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of German] (ZPKK) reached decisions at its meeting in Berlin today on the rehabilitation of Robert Havemann, Rudolf Hernstadt, and Lez Ende. They were expelled from the party in the 1950's as a result of false accusations and alleged factious activity.

Led by its chairman, Werner Eberlein, it again dealt at the suggestion of the Politburo with cases of unjustified privileges and illegalities which were taken advantage of by members of the former Politburo or which are to be answered. Party leaderships of bezirks [areas] and kreises [districts], basic organizations and other collectives have demanded that over and above the existing results of the investigations, everything concerning corruption and misuse of an office to personal advantage must be immediately and decisively exposed and made public, a commission statement says.

The ZPKK notes that all the cases—especially those made public in the media—of high-handed and privileged life-style, which is remote from the people, meet with rejection and condemnation among the over 2 million hard-working party members and all honest citizens. The commission would punish with great severity all infringements of the party statute, culminating in expulsion from the party. Wherever violations of the law have been committed, the facts would be referred to the relevant justice authorities. This applies also to the unjustified use of state property. All other information would be resolutely examined.

The ZPKK was carrying out the party disciplinary procedure against Gerhard Mueller, formerly candidate member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the SED Erfurt Kreise, and recommended that the Central Committee expel him from the Central Committee and the party.

The commission noted that bezirks and kreises party control commissions were currently rehabilitating SED members who were unjustly punished over the past years for criticism of the party leadership and party policy.

'Democratic Departure' Plans Party Congress

LD2711154589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1337 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The inaugural party congress of the "Democratic Departure" is to take place in Leipzig on 16 and 17 December. This was announced by its chairman, the lawyer Wolfgang Schnur, in Berlin at an international news conference on Monday. At present "Democratic Departure" has some 10,000 enrolled members, and their number is rising. He affirmed the intention of this future party to enter a parliament to be newly elected.

At the press conference, which was also attended by executive member Pastor Rainer Eppelmann and, for the FRG, the FDP [Free Democratic Party] chairman, Otto Count Lambsdorff, it was said that the proposal for a first "Roundtable" on 7 December in Bonhoeffer House was submitted to the parties represented in the People's Chamber by a contact group of newly formed organizations and groups. There can be no reply to this yet, since the proposal was only been made in a letter at the weekend, Pastor Eppelmann said.

Otto Count Lambsdorff spoke about talks which he conducted last weekend with representatives of the "Democratic Departure" and together with the chairman of the FDP group in the Bonn Bundestag, Wolfgang Mischnik, with the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] chairman, Manfred Gerlach.

Concerning the discussion of the conditions and preconditions for the economic cooperation between the GDR and the FRG, Lambsdorff said that his party, from the Federal Republic, does not want any restrictions on self-determination for GDR citizens. However, there are necessary preconditions in order to make economic help efficient and effective. To this end a number of reforms in the GDR are required; for instance, there is as yet no legal basis for equity investments or joint ventures. Without the fundamental criteria of a decentralized economic order, the promotion of unrestricted trade and prviate property, there will be no sucessful endeavors at economic support.

However, this does not change the fact that even today there exists scope for cooperation. He reiterated his offer of a talk between the federal economics minister and GDR officials from this area in the GDR before the end of this year. Asked about immediate measures in the GDR, Lambsdorff mentioned the area infrastructure, preventive health care, environmental protection, transport and waste management as well as communications. For instance, a West German group of companies proposed on Sunday to supply and install a mobile telephone network in the GDR worth DM 500 million, without state guarantee and at private risk.

Other subjects mentioned at the news conference were the results of a seminar on problems of the GDR health sector held by members of "Democratic Departure," New Forum, "Democracy Now," the LDPD, the Federal Republic's FDP and the Samaritans Berlin, and the start of a youth section of "Democratic Departure." [passage omitted]

Green Party Spokesman Discusses Objectives

LD2911145989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1240 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"We believe that society needs a party which has the ecology as the main objective of its whole program." This was emphasized by Vallrad Kuhn, one of the spokesmen of the GDR Green Party.

Kuhn noted that there is a growing environmental movement in the GDR, which is supported by citizens initiatives and also by the existing "old" parties. From the main objectives of ecology, "we derive all other tasks. In this we are not striving for the limelight, since consistent ecology makes demands on the individual. We are, for example, not in favor of placing material consumer interests in the center of social development, as has been the case hitherto. We are concerned with a new form of working, consumer, and leisure behavior."

As prerequisitee he cited, among other things, the abolition of subsidies, where they encourage the waste of energy and raw materials. "We want at all costs, however, to maintain the low tariffs in local and long-distance traffic. Public transportation must be considerably developed as an alternative to the car."

The party supports the replacement of quantitative economic growth by qualitative growth. "This means greatly extended recycling. In this respect we agree on many points with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's new concepts."

The party spokesman added in this connection that a capitalist market economy cannot be allowed to gain the upper hand. "We fully see the advantages of the environment of social property and a planning which marks out the framework, not the details. We want market economic elements, but not a market economy. A market economy does not necessarily take the ecology as its point of reference."

Vollrad Kuhn took the view that the GDR Greens are basically in favor of socialism. "I am in favor of socialism, but its contents must be redefined. Collective ownership of the means of production should prevail, but it should be verifiable by the citizens, in order that they can fully perceive their role as property owners. Linked to this is the essential reinforcement of the sense of property ownership. In this connection, also, the achievement of truly performance-oriented wages and profit-sharing by employees are essential."

"Everybody should understand," the spokesman continued, "That the main threat today is one of an impending environmental catastrophe. We feel that it is vital to create a system of ecological security at an international level—and this includes peace and disarmament".

The party advocates elections in the GDR in fall 1990. "Until then we intend to consolidate the party, both in its organization and its program."

LPDP's Raspe Calls for 'Radical Change'

LD2911162389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1452 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The renewal of the GDR will be successful only if the achievements of the democratic development of the bourgeois society are no longer

negated but are rather preserved and continued. This view was advocated by Liberal Democratic Party Deputy Chairman Hans-Dieter Raspe at a party meeting in Berlin today marking the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution.

"Our people are in a period of radical change, driven on by the determination to reshape their lives—to do so completely, as their own responsibility." This has not often happened in German history. "We Liberal Democrats hope that freedom, equality, and fraternity will form a part of the foundations of the new house," Raspe stressed. The socialist system for renewal requires that the greatest attention is devoted to the development of the individuality of every person and the political, legal, and spiritual conditions necessary for this. [passage omitted]

Gerlach Outlines Positions of LDPD

LD2211214189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1613 GMT 22 Nov 89

[By ADN correspondent Frank Losensky]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"We believe the LDPD [Liberal Democratic party of Germany] will develop into a liberal and democratic people's party in the GDR," LDPD Chairman Manfred Gerlach stated today. At an international news conference in Berlin, which he gave together with other executive members, he forecast that his party would exert growing influence on the GDR's political landscape.

Asked about the possibility of Gerlach (61) harboring ambitions to fill the post of president, proposed by the LDPD and to be newly created, LDPD Deputy Chairman Hans-Dieter Raspe answered with an [words indistinct] chairman himself had hesitated here, although he did almost all the talking at the press conference and was not short of answers to any other questions.

Gerlach said many of the LDPD's basic demands, formulated in the published draft "Principles of Liberal-Democratic Policy today" could be found in the government statement by Premier Hans Modrow. They would be adopted by the Central Executive on Friday, setting the tone for future work. Earlier the Political Committee and Secretariat asked for a vote of confidence in order to legitimize its leadership role up to the 15th party congress. The latter would take place as scheduled in March 1991 and would adopt a party program already being worked out for the period until the end of the century.

Gerlach said that following the introduction of a "GDR perestroyka under the conditions of GDR glasnost", freedom of action was being opened up for Liberal-Democratic policy which would be fully utilized. The next break was free, universal, and secret elections. He said that preconditions for this were a change and addition to the Constitution, whereby "it is already clear to all People's Chamber groups that Article 1 of the Constitution will be changed in that the leading role of the SED will be eradicated. "Moreover, a new electoral law had to be passed, for which the LDPD would submit a draft in the People's Chamber which should be implemented through a referendum for the sake of expediency. Also needed was a law on parties and associations to govern the founding, activity, electoral [words indistinct] possibilities and financing of parties, organizations, associations, and movements.

The LDPD envisaged that these elections "should be held next year at all levels from the People's Chamber right down to the local councils or the reverse." A decision would then be made on possible coalition partners. "In any case, the new People's Chamber has to reflect the true opinion of the people, otherwise they would not be free elections."

Gerlach said his party's proposal to allow only parties to have seats in the People's Chamber in the future had cost him votes from parliamentary group members of political organizations in the recent election of a new parliamentary president (which he lost). This initiative did not mean the exclusion of the broad spectrum of organizations, associations and citizens' movements from the legislative assembly. The latter, stated executive member Christian Renatus, could in the LDPD's view propose to the parties their own candidates under the parties' mandate. He believed that, following a recent consultation, this also concurred with the views of New Forum.

Gerlach referred to the invitation from the "Democracy Now" initiative group for "roundtable negotiations" which he accepted yesterday. "The aim in the first instance is to create trust so that, as far as possible, all parties in the coalition and, if possible, all the emerging parties and groups come to the same table in order to debate the situation in the country and jointly seek ways of tackling the most urgent problems and solving them in the interests of the people and with the people."

The measures for currency protection expected of the Cabinet on Thursday [23 November] would not be decisions to restrict the freedom of travel of the citizens. As Modrow had already stated, citizens' savings accounts were also safe. He regarded "all the speculation coming to us again and again from a certain direction about a currency reform as absurd." In the first instance measures should be expected from the GDR Government which bar speculation and the selling off of the GDR. Talks were needed about how many matters can be settled more quickly in the interests of citizens of all sides through closer cooperation between the GDR and the FRG and West Berlin.

The chairman supported the idea of a partnership based on treaties and warned against misunderstandings which would "introduce explosive elements. Two sovereign German states must continue to exist which work together as closely as possible, but as two sovereign states." To put the unity of Germany on the agenda now would not only be unrealistic but also dangerous. "One

cannot build a European home of the kind which we and no doubt all peace-loving people imagine when the frontiers which now represent the foundations of that home are altered."

Real cooperation with the prosperous Federal Republic was important to the GDR but one could not sell out. In common with the opinions of the citizens' movements, Gerlach was against "opening the way to the West German capital and thereby selling off sovereignty piece by piece." Equally, LDPD economics expert Witho Holland said they were looking for new operating methods in connection with foreign investors. Joint ventures were no more dirty words for the Liberal-Democrats than were joint stock companies and private limited companies for domestic economic partners. Gerlach had earlier pointed out that legal regulations for investment protection and profit transfer were being sought.

Finance Minister Cited on Price Subsidies

LD2711215289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1655 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Subsidies will remain a main focus of economic policy over the coming days and weeks. There is no intention nor any need to turn the existing situation on its head, Finance Minister Uta Nickel told the press in Berlin today.

This concerns in particular, subsidized prices for the population, any change in which must be carefully considered. If any modifications are to be introduced in this area, then social justice in the citizens' incomes must be guaranteed.

In the discussion on subsidies policy, a clear distinction must be made between state support in the interest of stable prices of consumer goods for citizens, and subsidies for industry.

In the second reading of the travel and passport bill in the People's Chamber, there will be a definitive statement on providing citizens with the resources to pay for travel, the minister announced. Citizens expect precise information. This cannot happen, however, until the forthcoming first reading of the bill. Corresponding negotiations are currently under way at various levels.

Uta Nickel also advocated the consistent preservation of the state banking monopoly.

Writers Union Reinstates 9 Expelled Members

LD2411135489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1218 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Berlin members of the GDR Writers' Union have annulled the 1979 expulsion of nine well-known members. BERLINER ZEITUNG reports today that a majority in the plenary meeting of the area union agreed this morning to ask Kurt Bartsch, Adolf Endler, Stefan Heym, Karl-Heinz Jakobs, Klaus Poche, Klaus Schlesinger, Rolf Schneider, Dieter Schubert, and Joachim Seyppel for forgiveness for the injustices committed, which could not be made up to them. The expulsion was annulled and the membership of the writers was restored retroactive to 7 June 1979. [passage omitted]

Spokesman on Disruption of Embassy Activities

LD2411135389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1234 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The work and security of diplomatic missions in the GDR capital has been impaired recently by demonstrations in front of these representations, and the dignity of the states represented by them has been injured. This was noted by the presiding spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry, Dr Denis Ruh, in a statement conveyed to ADN.

He pointed out in this connection that the GDR, as a co-signatory of the Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations, is obliged to guarantee the normal activities of the embassies. The GDR claims the same right for itself in connection with its diplomatic representations in other states. At the same time, the spokesman underlined, the GDR is interested in the development of mutually advantageous cooperation with all states with which it maintains diplomatic relations.

Defense Minister Reasserts Role of Army

LD2211223589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1704 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—The members of the National People's Army [NVA] of the GDR are firmly resolved to fulfill their constitutional mission and to securing peace by means of a high state of defense readiness, for their own people and for neighboring peoples, GDR Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffmann told ADN this today. Reacting to a demand from New Forum in Rostock for a demilitarization of the GDR, Hoffmann stated: "We start from the position that the defense of the GDR must be guaranteed and that the NVA, as the pivot of national defense, fulfills the task arising from that in the socialist military coalition." He also referred to the government statement by Premier Hans Modrow, which confirms that the GDR supports each and every disarmament initiative, strives for rapid successes at the Vienna negotiations, and supports the safeguarding of defense readiness according to the principle of equal security. If NATO reduces its armed forces, the minister said, then the Warsaw Pact will also further reduce its potential. "That also applies to the GDR. In this connection we must, however, stress that there have yet been no practical reactions from NATO to the unilateral concessions implemented by the socialist states in the sphere of disarmament." In Hoffmann's words, the military- political situation is now not so tense, but this is not irreversible either. "And we have to face this." It remains the NVA's main task to guarantee the secure protection of the GDR externally. It is precisely the current complicated situation that requires high security.

Commentary Stresses Solidarity with Modrow

AU2711212189 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 21 Nov 1989 pp 1-2

[Werner Fahlenkamp commentary: "A Government for the Sake of the People"]

[Text] Last weekend we got a new government whose development cannot be compared with any previous government in the 40 years of the GDR's existence, and whose capacity for action is needed more than ever before by all of us, by every individual citizen. And this not just because winter is approaching and all parts and sectors of our community are sensitive—something that is to a great extent due to the fact that for decades our community has been constructed in accordance with the dictates of a political bureaucracy.

The new government's capacity for action is also necessary because everything happening in the GDR directly affects Europe's security. Without a stable GDR there will be no stability on the continent. You cannot build and furnish a common European house with tenants who are in a desolate condition.

As the government under Modrow is here for the sake of the people, and not the people for the sake of the government, as was clearly expressed in the programmatic declaration of the Council of Ministers chairman, it deserves more than our respect, it deserves our solidarity in its difficult task of advancing and making irreversible the process of democratic restructuring and thorough renewal of socialism in our country. And it deserves the respect and solidarity of all those who are serious about peace and security in Europe.

There is an old saying that people always get the government they deserve. The large-scale demonstrative people's initiative, particularly in the big cities and towns in our country, has become this government's main issue. It has the task, and it will face this task, of carrying out the people's will and being nothing else but an executive power. It is not the instrument or the executive of any party, but subjects its will to the national spirit. At the discussion on the government declaration in the People's Chamber, Manfred Gerlach, the party chairman, said on behalf of the Liberal Democratic Party of German [LDPD] that we want to work jointly to spare the country from having to call to account the government that is now beginning its difficult task in the same way as the former government is now being called to account.

The government under Modrow promised to govern in a popular sense, which results in the teaching about its needs. This is quite different from the way in which a caste of self-appointed professional politicians determines the fashion in which the people should live their lives. But popular must not be misunderstood here. This does not at all mean agreeing with everything that somebody or particular groups might say, but living in the relentlessly hard present, firmly facing its problems and openly speaking the truth, even what is unpopular. We cannot be helped by promises or slogans. Nothing is more important than joining all forces to overcome the crisis through diligence and perseverance, self-confidence, and a sense of responsibility. To achieve a better future for all of us, instead of allowing things to divide us. Popular also means that the republic must be clean, a constitutional state with a consistently democratic character in which all are equal before the law. This also includes the joint struggle against all those who warm their hands at the expense of others, speculating with our currency and aiming to undermine social security and justice, harming all those who work honestly and jeopardizing the welfare services of the socialist state for our old citizens, for the sick and those in need of support, for our children.

The government knows that it does not have carte blanche. Its courage to act is based on the reasonableness of the people, as it is a coalition of reason itself.

It is no secret that it was not easy for our party to again accept the responsibility of government. Four of our party colleagues are members of the new Cabinet and—just like all the men and women in this government—they will not have it easy. We would not live up to our liberal democratic way of thinking, the traditions to which the LDPD feels committed, and to our understanding of the raison d'etat, it we did not clearly and unmistakably state that, proceeding from a constructive and critical position, we gave our agreement to the policy announced in the government declaration. And there were no objections when Manfred Gerlach said on behalf of the LDPD that we consider the redetermination of the government's policy to be an important step toward parliamentary democracy and political pluralism in the GDR.

We are aiming at a separation of powers, whereby we consider the dominating role of the People's Chamber and of all the people's representative bodies to be indispensable. Just as indispensable as the request for general, free, equal, and truly secret elections next year, a request first made by our party.

Until then, the political workday routine, the working days will demand above all work, efforts, and sweat from all citizens, but hopefully no tears. "There could be nothing worse for our republic than the listlessness of precisely those strata which the republic needs for its defense and which belong to it because of their way of thinking," Ossietzky wrote, when he saw the masses' enthusiasm about the revolution decrease a good year after the November Revolution in Germany—Carl von Ossietzky who was honored on his 100th birthday before our awakening, when Manfred Gerlach's speech caused such a sensation.

Parliament's Lack of Discussion Criticized

AU2811161789 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 21 Nov 89 p 2

["Guest commentary" by Manfred Becker, chairman of the Berlin-Brandenburg Synod of the Evangelical Church: "People's Chamber—Very Modest"]

[Text] The current People's Chamber, which was composed under a mode of election, which is no longer accepted today, is trying to fulfill its role as the supreme people's representation. This has made public interest in its work increase considerably.

Many members of Evangelical Church synods, which are also working in line with parliamentary procedures, are also attentively following these efforts and, not least, their procedural sides. In this connection, there was much reason for astonishment at the Peoples' Chamber session last Saturday [18 November].

The premier appeared with a changed proposal for the important office of the minister of education and youth, which was surprising for the entire public and, obviously, also for many deputies. There was only a minimum amount of information about the new man. And the astonishing thing was that parliament accepted this like some minor issue! There were no requests for more information on how the new proposal is a more convincing solution than the old one, not to mention a call to debate the sphere of responsibility of this ministry, about which there were and still are different ideas.

As we can see from a statement signed the day afterward by the chairman of the Free German Youth [FDJ] group, by the chairman of the People's Chamber Youth Committee, and by the first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, this sudden change in the Cabinet list was made without consulting the FDJ group, the Youth Committee, and the originally proposed ministerial candidate. One thinks that one does not hear correctly. Such a way of action would not have tolerated by any evangelical synod!

It is bad that the premier acted in this way, it is worse that the parliament president did not see any reason in this for offering a plenary discussion, and it is worst that none of the hundreds of deputies had the idea of calling for such a debate, not even a deputy of the FDJ group, whose ideas of a Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Tourism had been silently buried. What is the use of a subsequent whimpering statement? The dispute would have belonged in parliament and should have been there before the decision was made! It is little consolation that information was provided at a subsequent government news conference. Obviously, our current parliament was still completely caught up in its old concepts of immediate readiness for agreement. We do not wish to see something like this again.

It is also astonishing that such important committees as the committee for changing the Constitution or for investigating abuse of office were established in a rush-rush manner. Here one would have wanted the parliament president to ask formally at least once whether anyone wanted to take the floor to speak on the proposals. That a deputy might have spoken on the agenda to call for the opportunity to hold a debate is probably too much to expect.

For the benefit of our deputies, I would like to assume that they concentrated completely on the last item on the agenda, the intermediate report of the prosecutor general on the excesses of the security organs and the subsequent debate. The report and the subsequent questions put one in a slightly milder mood.

In summary: Our parliament has not yet fully exercised its responsibility. It needs continued critical observation.

Consumer Cooperatives Call for Independence

AU2811172589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Nov 89 p 2

[ND report: "Konsum Belongs to its Members and to No One Else"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ND)—In the interest of the consumers, the GDR consumer cooperatives demand the acceptance of their independence and democratic self-determination, which rules out patronage by the state organs. At the sixth session of the Cooperative Council of the Consumer Cooperatives Association of the GDR [of which Konsum is a part] on Monday [20 November] this was set down in a position paper. The Executive Committee, in which the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and the National Democratic Party of Germany are now represented by elected members, and its president, Heinz Fahrenkrog, received a vote of confidence. [passage omitted]

Silence About Abuse of Power Criticized

AU2611213989 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 20 Nov 89 p 2

[Klaus M. Fiedler commentary: "Preaching Water, Drinking Wine"]

[Text] There is still silence. The public is still not told anything about the things that have been called for and loudly demanded by hundreds of thousands of people at the demonstrations: Privileges and abuse of power. So many of those who have exploited their office and their function to personally enrich themselves, are still sitting in the People's Chamber, in bezirk assemblies, and in other leaderships. They hear the accusations and—keep silent. They do not have the courage to stand up and admit: I have sinned because I have abused my position! I took this enormous forest area or that long stretch of lake shore for my private property! I had palaces built for me and garages. I supplied my family members (and some favorites of mine) with houses, apartments, real estate property, cars, and exclusive trips.

Why, oh why do they not admit this? Why does the public prosecutor have to investigate first and why does the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate have to make inquiries? For decades those who are involved in this now have advocated most loudly their ideology, no matter which one. Ideologies which call for simplicity, modesty, moderateness, and honesty. They were the most ardent advocates of the ideas handed down from the classics and the ancestors and had them always on their lips—but they did not live in line with them.

Therefore, they should simply stand up and admit their sins—also for the sake of the credibility of their parties. The corresponding, newly founded People's Chamber committee is subjected to a great pressure of expectations....

New Minister on 'Doctored' Statistics

AU2811152289 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 20 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Gerhard Baumgaertel, minister of construction and housing management, by Carola Schuetz; date and place not given: "Gerhard Baumgaertel: First of All, It Is Necessary To Put an End to Doctored Statistics"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Schuetze] What will be your first tasks in your new office?

[Baumgaertel] I have to find out as quickly as possible, through a thorough analysis, what are the doctored statistics, and what is reality. Only on this basis will I be able to discuss problems frankly with the citizens.

On Monday [unspecified date] my predecessor, Wolfgang Junker, whose words at the People's Chamber session impressed me very much, will hand me a report, which I expect to provide many insights.

[Schuetze] One of the often-repeated promises of the previous government was the solving of the housing question as a social problem by the end of 1990. Now, since one no longer has to keep silent about any reservations, competent local politicians are expressing doubts about whether this is feasible. What is your opinion?

[Baumgaertel] It is correct that we always proceeded from the premise that this goal will be achieved. Indeed, remarkable things have already been achieved in the direction of this great goal. But—and I would like to refer to my previous office [mayor of Weimar] in this connection—first of all, I have to get a realistic overview of and insight into the matter, in order to be able to really judge what is feasible and what is not. And then this has to be discussed with all frankness. [passage omitted]

37 Applications Submitted for New Forum

AU2811105889 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 18-19 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "There Are 154 Recognized Associations in the GDR; 37 Applications for New Forum Have Been Submitted"]

[Text] Berlin—The press office of the Interior Ministry reports, in reply to inquiries:

In the GDR there are currently 154 associations that have been recognized by the responsible state authorities on the basis of the decree of 6 November 1975 on the foundation and activities of associations. Among them there are 6 sociological, 15 scientific, and 61 religious associations with primarily diaconal and charitable tasks. In addition, there are 10 cultural associations, as well as 51 associations of foreign students in the GDR; 84 of the associations recognized by the state work on a republican level and 70 work in the individual bezirk and kreis territories. In addition, it is known that 113 primarily medical and cultural associations were established by means of special legal regulations and they have acquired legal capacity.

So far, 37 applications for the intended founding of New Forum associations have been submitted. One was registered by the Interior Ministry and 14 by bezirk councils. In addition, 22 applications have become known in kreis councils.

In accordance with the press release from 9 November 1989, the registration of the founding of New Forum was confirmed for the territory of the GDR by the Interior Ministry on 8 November 1989. The confirmation of its registration in the bezirks and kreises is the sovereign decision of these organs. According to previous information, such confirmations were made in eight bezirks and 16 kreises. Other applications were withdrawn, while reference was sometimes made to the confirmation of the registration of New Forum for the territory of the GDR by the Interior Ministry.

In addition, individual applications for the planned founding of associations, such as the Democratic Peace Movement and the Socialist Renewal Citizens Movement, and the promotion and observation of the CSCE process have been submitted to the responsible organs.

Krenz Discusses Issues in TV Interview

LD2011002189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2155 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Report on interview with Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and of the GDR National Defense Council, by Anja Ludewig on 19 November "in a report on the first channel of GDR television"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)— The people from the television team, it was learned, are the first guests in the simple house in Berlin-Pankow which the Krenz family moved into the day before. "It is certainly a bit smaller here than in Wandlitz, and one imagines a little less comfortable. This shows consistency, but it certainly hurts a little bit too," he was asked.

Answer: The main thing is "that I feel I am a Berliner now and live here in the capital. I know from my political friends in the Politburo that they want to move step by step out of Wantlitz and take up residence here in Berlin. And thus Wandlitz, as various people have suggested, will be a housing estate for public figures who have retired."

Asked about sporting activities, Krenz said that every morning he does his 5-km run, "on holiday sometimes 10, sometimes 20." Recently he had taken part in the peace run in Barth in the Rostock Area and had run the 12-km distance in 58 minutes. "I must say I was one of the first in my age group."

Asked about a rumor that he had been in the United States for an operation, Krenz said that he has never been in the United States in his life. There was also a rumor that the operation had cost $100,000. "I haven't got any dollars either. And third, my pancreas, which is what it was all about, is quite healthy," he said. There are many such rumors. Unfortunately politicians also have to learn to live with rumors. But it is interesting that "rumors mostly arise when one takes on a particular political responsibility, so that there are also people somewhere who have an interest in putting about such rumors."

In response to the question of whether he considers it to be possible that he will no longer be general secretary after the extraordinary party congress, Krenz replied: "This is a decision for my party. I have always supported the decisions of my party and I would also support this one. But I say quite sincerely, I did not start upon the program of renewal, at my party's 9th plenum, for a period of 4, 5 or 6 weeks. I would of course like to fight to ensure that this change which we have introduced be made irreversible." If his party feels that it is right to propose that he continues as general secretary for this purpose, then he will be at their disposal. He will only be available, however, for a program "which links the renewal of socialism with the complete renewal of my party, in the sense that we bind socialism even more closely to democracy, and that we have a genuine, humanist socialism."

The grass roots are demanding a vote of confidence, Anja Ludewig said. Egon Krenz: "If the grass roots suggest a vote of confidence, then that is the important thing. For one of our failures in the past has been that we paid too little attention to the signals from the grass roots; and if I am advocating the implementation of a new policy, a renewal of socialism, then I must first and foremost pay attention to the many voices of the party base."

Questioned on the SED's claim to leadership, Egon Krenz said that the party is "one of five in the democratic bloc." The claim to leadership, as has been stated clearly in the program for action, must be worked out anew every day; this is not only a question of the Constitution or the declaration. "If I am correct in my assessment," he said, "the situation is thus: Our leadership has not passed the test of power—or the trial of power." This does not mean, however, for the comrades who have placed their trust in the party, that they can no longer continue in their current positions. "On the contrary, I believe that it is the honorable duty of the members of the party that they remain with us at the top of the renewal of socialism." Therefore, he feels that it is not a question "of whether we are one party among many—that we shall of course be—but the question in my view is ever that of how this party perceives its role in society, and this role also follows of course from the fact that we are the party of the workers." Many hopes have been lost, but not the hope that there might be "progress through togetherness."

On the question of whether "socialism should be given a face-lift, purified a little, but not essentially changed," the SED general secretary said that he cannot agree with such doubters. "I should like to give my opinion quite frankly: It is not a matter here of some cosmetic operations, it is a matter of fundamental changes. We have—I have said this repeatedly and I should like to say it now also—achieved a great deal in the 40 years, and every citizen of the GDR will be very dissatisfied if tomorrow suddenly those socialist achievements which we all have learned to appreciate were to disappear. But we could have done even more. I believe a basic failing is the fact that in those 40 years we did not succeed in emancipating ourselves from the Stalinist past, from the administrative system. It is not socialism that has failed, but the degenerate version of socialism." To this extent he would like to shield and protect the comrades who work in the grass-roots organizations. Anyone who takes on a function at this time is not taking it on for career reasons, but out of responsibility. He should be given a chance and not be subjected to blanket condemnation from the start.

Has he "had a leading part in preventing in Leipzig a tragedy such as that on the Square of Heavenly Peace in Beijing?" Thus, does he "today have a different attitude to the one he had just 6 months ago?" Krenz: "What I did, I did together with other comrades. But I did argue in favor of solving all political conflicts in the GDR by political means. That is my deep conviction. I have never had a different conviction. And if you are referring to the events in the PRC, then I must tell you that I said at the time on Saarland Radio that I do not like the reporting of events in the PRC in the FRG media, because it aggravates the situation and does not defuse it. I said that it is, however, important for the world that

stability prevails in the sense that such a great people, as symbolized by the PRC, that such a great people also plays its role in world politics for the preservation of peace. Thus I rejected the practice of aggravating situations through reporting and not defusing them."

Anja Ludewig: "Another crucial question: Yesterday in Leipzig there was talk once again of Krenz being the supreme electoral rigger of the nation." Krenz regretted that some people are saying these things. "As the Central Electoral Commission we submitted a report to the State Council, which was transmitted to us by the computer. Afterwards there were differing opinions. Now it is word against word. But no word calls into question the legitimacy of the people's representative bodies. Now it is difficult to get to the bottom of things, because of the requirement that the relevant documents, ballot papers, etc, should be destroyed after the elections." The most important thing in his opinion, and this is in the SED's program for action, is "that we are in favor of a new electoral law, and that this electoral law must rule out the possibility, from beginning to end, that such discrepancies or improprieties as are being represented by various individuals, groups and so on, can ever occur again. In short then; I am in favor of a new electoral law."

On the opening of the GDR border, Krenz said that it is certainly the "most convincing argument for how serious we are about the policy of renewal." He wants to stress that "we have signed the Helsinki Final Acts, and we signed the Vienna agreement. But we have not observed these agreements on all points. The first task the new leadership set itself is to make word and deed correspond here as well."

He prefers to see the pictures of happily travelling GDR people rather "than those pictures we saw during the summer in other countries, where people ill-temperedly took their leave of us. That struck deep, and now, I think, people are happy about it." He by no means underestimates the difficulties associated with this. It must not now become the time for black-marketeers, but "the time of the reasonable people." He appeals to the citizens to act in such a way that anything which interrupts reasonable travel between the two German states should be prevented. He thinks that the GDR has "made a large advance concession," and now it is "the turn of the FRG Government to fulfill its obligations, also the leaders in Berlin (West)." How seriously the optimistic sounding noises from beyond the border should be taken "we will have to investigate, when we meet with Herr Seiters tomorrow and when the meeting between Herr Kohl and myself takes place."

Will "the GDR head of state vouch for the fact" that the border will remain open? "I do not think that there can be any going back to the old ways."

In response to questions on the present economic problems, Krenz said: "The prime minister said in his government statement that he will only make promises that he can keep. This is the position of my party also." They can "not continue to allow, as we have to date, that we live beyond our means. The only solution—and it is, I believe, a constructive one—is to achieve increased productivity." The GDR is far behind the FRG in terms of labor productivity; only increased productivity will make it possible to maintain and, if this is followed by even better performance, to raise, the standard of living.

"Like the East socially and like the West in terms of efficiency," said Anja Ludewig, that is what most people would like. It seems to her that the two do not go together. "We will have to get rid of our illusions." Egon Krenz replied that the two cannot in any case be lumped together. Those who desire reforms in the socialist sense deserve full support. "But those people who, in the name of reforms, hope to return to capitalism, have not a chance here. And I must therefore say: We need efficiency, to produce more social benefits, and social benefits, to increase efficiency."

The reporter referred to the planned meting with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, which will no doubt also deal with economic matters. Many people are afraid, she said, that the GDR will "in this respect become a kind of land of cheap labor, a colony of the FRG." Egon Krenz said that the field of topics has not yet been worked out. Chancellor's Office Minister Seiters is coming on Monday, and then he himself will have a better idea of "Herr Kohl's views. For my part, I regret somewhat that the questions of disarmament are disappearing from the agenda, for disarmament remains the main question. It helps to ensure that the people can live more safely and, if we achieve it, then we will also release large resources for social purposes." In his opinion the extent to which the two German states can contribute to peace and disarmament will certainly also have a place on the agenda. The economy and the environment will also be discussed. "We will look after the interests of the GDR," the State Council chairman affirmed. The GDR is not a country which needs advice from outside, coming from arrogant standpoints. "Our people are intelligent, our people are sovereign enough to seek and to find the solutions for our country. And we must, of course, protect our economic interests." On the basis of contractual partnership, "We are ready to do a great deal, but only from the standpoint of two completely independent sovereign German states." The unity of Germany is not on the agenda, the GDR will not become a Federal state, nor will it be a country of cheap labor.

Whether things will remain as they are, with him "doing three jobs at once?" Krenz: "I have never shirked responsibility. My party nominated me for this, and this took place in a specific situation, namely immediately after the change. How I will be in the future depends anyway on the decision of the party, as well as on the decision of the People's Chamber." He would like to say "the most important thing is not whether I now have one or two jobs, the most important thing is that the exercise of these functions is under the control of the people." He is prepared to face up fully to this control and "not to do a job for power's sake, but in the interests of my country,

in order to represent the interests of the citizens of this state. I am not stuck to any seat, I am not stuck to any power, I am purely and simply committed to the interests of the citizens of the GDR."

In his FDJ [Free German Youth] years, he had a lot of contact with young people and noted contradiction between the leadership's sense of reality and the attitudes he had seen in his earlier job in the FDJ, Egon Krenz said in reply to the question of whether he had become a turncoat on the night of 17 October.

To an interpolated question as to why in August and September, "when things were so critical here" nothing had been heard from Egon Krenz, he answered: "I was sent on holiday, quite simply sent." He had suggested to the former general secretary that he should stay at his job "primarily because I saw the situation as being very critical and accordingly gave my assessment of what was happening in the country. But our then-general secretary thought it better to send me on holiday, and I went on holiday, but as you can imagine that was the worst holiday of my life." Friends from his hometown or his home district of Ribnitz-Damgarten—he had gone to Dierhagen on holiday—would be able to confirm that he was "well- nigh depressed on holiday."

this raised the question, "Why are you being so lenient with your predecessors? Have you simply been unable to cut yourself off from them?"

The general secretary replied: "It is not that simple. I am in favor of a political culture which is dealt with in discussion, and I also feel that no one should be condemned. In the final analysis, there is a Central Committee which can be elected only by the party congress. And a new Central Committee can also be elected only by the party congress. Not everyone has yet grasped this process of renewal, as is demonstrated by the fact that, at the ninth meeting of the Central Committee, some comrades should have said that they share the responsibility and will now go too. This did not occur. Therefore, there were lengthy discussions: Should we have a party conference? Should we have a party congress? And the grass roots demanded of us that we hold a party congress, an extraordinary party congress, with the single goal of electing a new Central Committee. And I think that it is better to elect a new Central Committee than to replace the old one." The extraordinary party congress was "our chance to appear before the party in all truth, and to submit a new concept of socialism." His party had begun, honestly, genuinely and steadfastly, to solve the problems facing the country.

In response to the concluding jovial comment from Anja Ludewig that she wished him "strong nerves and good health, including for his vocal cords," Egon Krenz said: "Thank you very much. I must say, that has nothing to do with the fact, as some people write in papers, that I drink a little too much alcohol. It is the result of the fact that I have spoken a little too much."

Krenz Discusses Honecker's Responsibility

AU2011105889 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 19 Nov 89 p 8

[Interview with Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, by Menso Heyl; date and place not given: "When Will the Brandenburg Gate Finally Be Opened?"]

[Text] BILD AM SONNTAG: Mr Krenz, will FRG citizens soon be able to go the GDR without visas?

Krenz: The Council of Ministers has said that it will soon submit a travel and passport law to the People's Chamber to pass a resolution on it. Our parliament is now so self-confident that I do not want to anticipate anything.

BamS: But free travel from the West brings foreign exchange to the country.

Krenz: I agreed with your chancellor by telephone that we will prepare many things—including the visit that he will pay to the GDR. I think that many things can be discussed during this visit. Please understand that I do not talk about things that have not been discussed yet.

BamS: What is your view on Premier Modrow's proposal on a contractual community between the two German states?

Krenz: This is exactly my opinon. The question of the unity of Germany is not on the agenda. Questions of cooperation have to be jointly discussed.

BamS: Do leading members of the former government have to expect criminal prosecution?

Krenz: We have established an investigation committee. You know that investigations must not be anticipated and persons must not be sentenced in advance. The responsiblity of former General Secretary Honecker and former Politburo members Mittag and Hermann has been concretely mentioned. We have not minced words in this respect. We are willing to make a completely new beginning.

BamS: When will the Brandenburg Gate be opened?

Krenz: I have repeatedly stated my opinion on this. I wish you all the best.

Krenz Discusses Policy Goals, 9 Oct Events

AU2311230289 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Interview with Egon Krenz, Central Committee general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, by ARD television correspondent Fritz Pleitgen on 23 November; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Pleitgen] Mr General Secretary, Erich Honecker has said that the Wall would still exist in 100 years. Now it already has holes. For how long will there be two German states?

[Krenz] To begin with, every generation should set the tasks that it is able to resolve. Regarding the two German states, they are a reality of the postwar era, and I assume that we will have to live for a long time yet with two German states.

[Pleitgen] What do you think of a confederation?

[Krenz] You know, I think that many things will be possible in the future.

[Pleitgen] When will the Brandenburg Gate be opened—before the end of this year?

[Krenz] I do not know. I have an interest in seeing as many border crossings opened as possible, so that border traffic between the two German states as well as West Berlin and the GDR goes smoothly. Six weeks ago, nobody would have dreamed of seeing so many border crossings opened as we have done recently. Certain people want to see symbolic acts, and I am telling you quite honestly that I prefer acts for the people's benefit to symbolic acts.

[Pleitgen] However, that would also be an act in the people's interest.

[Krenz] The Brandenburg Gate has not only had progressive traditions in the past, but many negative things are connected with this gate in German history. It could become a symbol of—I would say—cooperative coexistence in the future, a symbol of good cooperation. Whether it can become such a symbol, must be negotiated and discussed with the other side.

[Pleitgen] I was in Leipzig on Monday [20 November] at a demonstration in which more than 200,000 people participated. Nobody said anything positive about you—quite the contrary. Are you aware that you enjoy little confidence among the population, and sometimes even no confidence at all?

[Krenz] Well, whether no one said a good word about me I do not know. I do not know whether you talked with each of the 200,000. You are talking about those who spoke at the demonstration. I cannot advise the people to speak favorably about me. They must judge me by my deeds. Every politician has to accept that, and certain remarks made there about me are unfair in my view.

[Pleitgen] Let me broach a problem that concerns the GDR people in particular—9 October. What happened? Was there an order to shoot at the Leipzig demonstration on that day?

[Krenz] I resolutely reject that there was an order to shoot. I do not know such an order. I was not yet general secretary on 9 October. However, I do not know of such a shooting order, nor do I believe that it existed.

[Pleitgen] However, reportedly many armed units were concentrated around Leipzig, and they were seen in the evening; live ammunition was handed to them; and blood plasma was procured; rooms in hospitals were evacuated.

[Krenz] I reject the claim that live ammunition was handed out; there were no orders to that effect. I know specifically that no orders were given to hand out ammunition. I said: No clashes with the demonstrators; we must prevent any clashes between the state power—in this case the security forces—and demonstrators. In order to discuss these things other than by only telephone, I was in Leipzig several days later, together with other comrades. We talked to all responsible people. Then an order of the National Defense Council chairman was issued—at that time it was Honecker whom I had prepared for upcoming events—and this order contained two things: First, no violence; and second, firearms must under no circumstances be used. These two things are verifiably contained in the order of the National Defense Council chairman.

[Pleitgen] Do you think that you will be re-elected at the forthcoming party congress?

[Krenz] I am fighting for it. I did not start with the program of renewal, my party's program of action which essentially shows my hand, just to step down after 6 weeks. However, the question is, of course, how will the extraordinary party congress see it? I will face every decision of this party congress. I am not ready to dodge responsibility, nor do I cling to any personal power, and even less to any function.

[Pleitgen] Regarding the Roundtable talks, what do you expect?

[Krenz] I expect all political forces—both the existing parties and the new groups—to sit down at a table and discuss very specific problems.

[Pleitgen] Do you also have the example of Poland in mind, where the Polish United Workers Party had to resign?

[Krenz] Every country has its own specific characteristics. So consider above all the GDR. Regarding the party's stepping down, let me tell you that we want to appear on the stage; in other words, we want hold discussions at this Roundtable, we want to expound our position.

Further on Interview

AU2411105189 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Interview with Egon Krenz, Central Committee general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, by ARD television correspondent Fritz Pleitgen on 23 November; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Yesterday the first German television station ARD aired a 45-minute interview with Honecker's successor as party and state leader, Egon Krenz. In the extremely open talk, in which even reports about Krenz's alleged alcohol problems and health problems resulting therefrom were no taboo, Krenz was also asked how his predecessor and longtime mentor Erich Honecker is today.

[Begin Krenz recording] As far as I know, he is still suffering from the effects of his operation.

[Pleitgen] Are you still in contact with him?

[Krenz] I have held several conversations with him; I also telephoned him.

[Pleitgen] Is he not bitter about what is happening to him now?

[Krenz] First, I would like to state that he supports what has been said at the 9th and 10th Central Committee sessions of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. He also accepts that he bears a large degree of responsibility for this situation.

[Pleitgen] Does he not feel that his life's work is being destroyed?

[Krenz] We did not talk about this specifically. However, I can quite believe it.

[Pleitgen] Does he not want to justify his actions in public?

[Krenz] I think that his present condition does not allow him to answer these questions.

[Pleitgen] This summer we saw that the GDR was going through a very critical time. Why did you disappear from the scene?

[Krenz] Well, you know, this is an internal matter of my party. However, if you ask in such a candid manner, I must also give a candid answer. I did not intend to go on vacation.

[Pleitgen] Who told you to go?

[Krenz] The general secretary sent me on vacation.

[Pleitgen] Does one accept that as a grown-up Politburo member?

[Krenz] Well, you know, in a certain situation, one is subject to a certain discipline. Today I also know that discipline is good if it is the result of a collective discussion.

[Pleitgen] However, Honecker was sick himself during this period.

[Krenz] He was sick. He came back from his vacation. Before he underwent the operation he entrusted Guenter Mittag with the party leadership during this period. This was, of course, a special step, because up to that time it was known that I usually deputized for the general secretary. This means that the general secretary apparently no longer had any confidence in me at this point.

[Pleitgen] Did Erich Honecker have so much power that you knuckled under him in the Politburo? If I hear that you obeyed his order to go on vacation, I must assume that his power was absolute.

[Krenz] Of course, one needs majorities for political decisions, and as long as these majorities did not exist, within my sphere of responsibility I had to ensure that things were pushed in such a way or that I handled them in such a way that they were settled in the best possible way for the people. [end Krenz recording]

Asked about the current developments of relations with the FRG, Krenz stated:

[Begin Krenz recording] You know, the patronizing attitude in certain statements by politicians from your country, or the fact that they give marks to us is not well-received by the population in the GDR. We are not one of the FRG's lands. There may be several things on which controversial discussions are being held. However, I would like to mention at least three things on which there is great consensus among many citizens in this country. First, the GDR is only conceivable as a socialist country. Now one might discuss what this socialism should be like. Second, the GDR is only conceivable as a sovereign country. Third, the people are the sovereign in the GDR. The great people's movement which you yourself mentioned testifies to this, if proof is needed at all. This large people's movement will not be patronized, neither by us nor by the other side.

[Pleitgen] Still, I must tell you one thing. I have heard that many GDR citizens are afraid of a sellout of the GDR by the FRG. This is true. I know that many members of the New Forum have told me that they want to remain sovereign, that they do not want to become a colony, a Sicily of the FRG. However, at the recent demonstration in Leipzig, huge crowds chanted: "Germany, united fatherland." One of the speakers who advocated reunification was enthusiastically applauded. Apparently, this consensus no longer exists.

[Krenz] Such opinions are, of course, held by various people. There are many opinions in a democracy. You know, the difference between our social orders is one thing, and this difference between the social systems exists on German soil. There is a common history, there is a common language, and there are numerous relations between the two countries. All of this exists, and it must all be taken into consideration. Therefore, not every statement on reunification must be seen as a calling into question of the postwar order, but simply as a desire to get together with relatives or friends in the other German state.

Krenz Cited on Ties With Honecker

LD2311210989 Hamburg DPA in German 1859 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—GDR state and party leader Egon Krenz has now also spoken indirectly in support of abolishing Article 1 of the GDR Constitution, which stipulates the leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. The article is "no problem whatsoever" for the party. The leading role of the party cannot be laid down by constitution or decree, Krenz said in an interview on First German Television (ARD), which is to be shown this evening after the Taqesschau [news program].

It is the first time that the GDR state and party leader has given an interview to Western journalists, in which he reported in detail about his relations with Erich Honecker and the latest developments in the GDR. Krenz told his interviewer, Fritz Pleitgen, that after his switch from the Free German Youth [FDJ] leadership to the SED Politburo, he was initially regarded as crown prince of the party, but then the day dawned when Honecker took him "out of the public eye." He himself sensed that there has been "a great loss in realism" in the apparatus.

During the critical time during the summer, Honecker sent him on holiday and, during his illness, entrusted Guenter Mittaq with the party leadership. "That means the general secretary apparently no longer had any confidence in me." He said the reason was that he had been inspired by Mikhail Gorbachev's new thinking and had put forward corresponding conclusions for the GDR. However, speculation that the changes which have taken place in the GDR had been prompted by Moscow are incorrect.

Honecker was living in Wandlitz and was still suffering from the effects of his operation. Krenz said he held several conversations with Honecker and had also telephoned him. Honecker admitted to what had been said at the 9th and 10th Central Committee sessions, and also accepted "that he bears a large degree of responsiblity for this situation." Asked whether Honecker did not feel that his whole life's work had been destroyed, Krenz answered: "We did not talk about that specifically. I can quite believe it."

Krenz strongly denied that there had been an order to shoot in order to smash the demonstration in Leipzig on 9 October. "I don't know about it. On 9 October I was not yet general secretary, but I don't know about any order of that kind to shoot, nor do I believe that there was such an order to shoot"—neither had there been any orders about the issuing of live ammunition.

Krenz said with regard to his own role, that on 9 October, he had a telephone conversation with the then SED first secretary of Leipzig. The latter told him that the director of music at the Gewandhaus had, together with other public figures, made an appeal for calm and moderation, which was also supported by secretaries of the Area (Bezirk) Executive.

Krenz encouraged the SED secretary and told him: "Yes, that is a good initiative from Kurt Masur." This had taken place shortly before 1930, when the demonstration started. "I said there should be no clashes of any kind with the demonstrators," he is now also in agreement with Masur in assessing his own role on that day. After misunderstandings in the press, he had himself described the course of events to him. [sentences as received]

Krenz added that a few days after 9 October, he spoke in Leipzig with all those responsible. There then ensued "an order from the chairman of the National Defense Council, then still Honecker, which I however prepared, and that order contained two elements: first, no force, and second, no use of firearms on any account."

With regard to intra-German relations, Krenz said that the latter must develop in a way that "is customary between good neighbors." The atmosphere had been very good in his telephone conversations with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. After his meeting with Minister of the Chancellor's Office Rudolf Seiters, he had by contrast had "mixed feelings."

Krenz added that the patronizing attitude in certain statements by FRG politicians and their "censorious attitude" is difficult for the GDR population to accept. There is a strong belief that the GDR is only conceivable as a socialist, sovereign country and that the people are sovereign.

Krenz would not commit himself on giving a date for the opening of the Brandenburg Gate. A number of matters connected with local policy must be taken into account. One should not allow oneself, because of "overnight euphoria," to "make premature decisions." "At any event, the question of opening the Brandenburg Gate is still on the table."

Krenz described the idea of joint Olympic Games in West and East Berlin as "very courageous from the present standpoint." Its feasibility also depends on the Olympic rules.

He has a very large degree of confidence in the lawyer, Wolfgang Vogel. The latter has rendered very great services in humanitarian questions. "If Herr Vogel is prepared to continue to act in this role, then I for my part see no reason to put forward any other proposals."

Krenz Discusses Legal Achievements

WA2811203189 Moscow PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA in Russian No 10, Oct 89 pp 21-26

[Article by Egon Krenz, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo: "Power, Democracy, Law"]

[Text] **Two historic dates fall due in October in the socialist world: the PRC and the GDR were formed 40 years ago. Guiding the creation of the new society, the governing parties of these countries are relying, together with the fundamental principles of communist theory, on**

their own experience and taking into consideration the specifics of the national conditions of socialist building. The articles below are devoted to the practice of the solution of some of its important problems.

Throughout the GDR's 40-year history we have put in the category of principal evidence of the progressive development of democracy the practice of the increasingly extensive enlistment of the citizens in the tackling of state and public issues.

Immediately following the formation of our worker-peasant state, Wilhelm Pieck, president of the republic, declared in October 1949: "We are now at a turning point of German history... Let everyone, exercising responsible, loyal and friendly cooperation, concern himself with being up to the historic tasks and with ensuring that with time we be able to stand our ground before the judgment of history" (Footnote 1) (Wilhelm Pieck, "An der Wende der deutschen Geschichte" in "Reden und Aufsaetze," Band II, Berlin, 1954, p 303). While inviting everyone who has insisted on further social transformations to share national responsibility, our party has proceeded from its own experience. And this experience has confirmed that the working class, championing the fundamental interests of all working people, can conquer only in joint struggle with them.

At the party conferences in Brussels (1935) and Bern (1939) the Communist Party of Germany adopted a policy of the formation of a broad popular front against Nazism and determined as the goal the creation of antifascist, democratic organizations in the country. Following the defeat of Hitlerism, the Communist Party of Germany was the first party to address the public, on 11 June 1945, with a statement concerning its aspiration to the "establishment of an antifascist, democratic regime and parliamentary-democratic republic with all democratic rights and liberties for the people (Footnote 2) (Aufruf des ZK der KPD vom 11 Juni 1945" in "Revolutionaere deutsche Parteiprogramme," Berlin, 1967, p 196). It thus signposted to all the forces concerned the way to once and for all preclude the possibility of the emergence in Germany of the political and economic conditions which enabled imperialist circles to unleash two devastating world wars and the way to the elimination of the social roots of fascist ideology and the Nazi terrorist state. The strategic mission of establishing the political power of the working class in an alliance with other working people formulated in the "Principles and Aims of the SED" adopted by the unitary congress of Communists and Social Democrats in April 1946 was subordinated to this goal. An endeavor to defend democracy and peace and strengthen friendship between peoples was the basis of their consensus in the name of cooperation.

In accordance with the fundamental interests of the German people and with regard for historical necessity it was possible to combine anti-fascist transformations with the struggle for socialism. Thus the GDR was formed and developed as the common cause of all working classes, strata and generations. Their participation in this process has become increasingly conscious.

As the leading party of the political system which took shape under the specific conditions of our country, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Footnote 3) (The SED has 2.3 million members. With a GDR population of 16.6 million, all social strata are represented in the former. The proportion of workers in the party is 57.8 percent) is aware of its historical responsibility. At each stage it has shown itself to be a Marxist-Leninist organization of the working class and all working people and the most important social force, thanks to which it has won high authority among the people. Our experience shows that the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party is a natural vital principle of socialism.

The SED pursues its policy in effective cooperation with other parties—the German Democratic Peasant Party (more than 115,000 members, chiefly from the cooperative-system peasant class), the Christian Democratic Union (over 133,000 believers), the German Liberal Democratic Party (approximately 104,000 members, primarily craftsmen, businessmen and intellectuals) and the German National Democratic Party (approximately 110,000 members from the ranks of craftsmen, artisans and the professionals). All these associations are represented in the People's Chamber, State Council and Council of Ministers and also in local organs of administration of all levels. They participate in the elaboration and adoption of decisions fundamental to the life of the country and the exercise of state power.

More than 80 public organizations also contribute to this democratic interaction. The largest of them—the Association of Free German Trade Unions (9.5 million members), the Free German Youth Union (2.3 million members), the German Democratic Women's Union (1.5 million members), the Kulturbund (264,000 members) and the Peasant Mutual Assistance Association (580,000 members)—have their own factions in the People's Chamber.

Currently one out of every three citizens of the republic performs this state or public function or the other on a voluntary basis. This is practical confirmation of the objective coincidence of the vital interests of the working class and the interests of other groups and strata of the working people. The friction which would arise constantly between the parties previously and the egotism in relations between them have given way to cooperation in the name of the good of the people based on trust and comradely cooperation. Also geared to this is the social assertiveness of citizens of Christian religious belief and ecclesiastical figures, which has enjoyed development in our country.

The experience accumulated in the process of our party's creative application of Marxism-Leninism under the specific conditions of the GDR testifies that the power of the working class and the entire working people and the alliance of the parties and mass organizations and their

democratic interaction in the GDR National Front under the leadership of the SED serve as a guarantee and the basis of social progress.

Socialism, which has created the conditions for the ouster of all relations which demean and enslave people, has made it possible to implement the principle: "Man is the highest being for man" (Footnote 4) (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Vol 1, p 422) and cannot develop without the unfolding of democracy. There is no true power of the people without the most extensive enlistment of the citizens in its organization and implementation. V.I. Lenin wrote: "Only when this new class is raised ... from the practice of its own administration, only when it enlists in this the broadest working masses and only when it formulates forms which afford all working people an opportunity to adapt easily to the business of administration of the state and the creation of state regulations may the socialist revolution be strong, and it is only on this condition that it cannot fail to be strong" (Footnote 5) (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 37, p 444).

The building of the developed socialist society is, as reality shows, a lengthy and complex and comprehensive process associated with profound political, economic, social and spiritual and cultural transformations. It engenders manifold social phenomena. Our party guides this process, subjecting it to constant scientific analysis and drawing the necessary conclusions. What has been vindicated is preserved here. And, of course, problems which arise are resolved in the new manner.

In this sense the strategy of social development formulated by the SED is geared to strengthening and improving the advantages and achievements of socialism, the productive forces and production relations, political and social conditions, science and the educational system and ideology and culture. In other words, improving all aspects and spheres of social life in planned manner and at a high level, and the country's defenses, in accordance with the state of international affairs.

In order to ensure the efficiency of this multifaceted process, the party aspires to enhance the ideological and political and professional qualities of each communist. Only then may party members (and it was this conclusion which was drawn by K. Marx and F. Engels in the "Communist Manifesto" from the proposition concerning the historic mission of the working class) truly at any time surpass all the rest in an understanding of the conditions, mechanism and results of social development and, taking the experience of others into consideration, be the first to provide the answers to questions which are coming to a head in order to adopt the correct solutions in the interests of the people.

This requirement is today more pertinent than ever, particularly in connection with the differentiation of social processes in the country and international relations. We consider it important for its fulfillment to constantly perfect intra-party democracy, strengthen discipline and create in each party collective an atmosphere of high moral responsibility and creative exchange of opinions. Being communists has for us never meant persisting in a skeptical evaluation of the course of events. We are driven by an aspiration to justified change. This presupposes equally both an entirely definite position and knowledge. The leading role of the party may be exercised only in this way: Its authority and influence are not predetermined automatically, they need to be earned constantly.

We proceed from the fact that the leadership of society imposes on a Marxist-Leninist party responsibility for a constant upturn in the spiritual and cultural level and the political education of the whole people. For it is only possible to assume obligations, pertaining to the exercise of power included, by having knowledge and possessing sufficient intellectual process stock based on a sizable ideological and theoretical base. Otherwise the gains and achievements of preceding generations will be jeopardized.

Our party not only proclaimed the free development of the personality a condition of the free development of all. In winning political power and subsequently defending it, it has inculcated in millions of citizens a capacity for perceiving socialism as an objective requirement addressed to themselves and taught a conscious attitude toward its fulfillment. This is a historic contribution of the party and, undoubtedly, an essential prerequisite of the country's stable political development.

The continued improvement of socialist democracy is the principal condition of a strengthening of our society and state power. Since 1965 even the laws of the republic have made it possible to nominate more candidates for the representative authorities than there are places. Fifteen years ago the workforce participated for the first time in the professional verification of the candidates for deputy, and this practice was subsequently established in legislation. At this year's municipal elections, National Front committees also acquired an opportunity to nominate candidates in their electoral districts, and similar rights were accorded a number of other organizations also. Thanks to this, candidate selection was put on an even stronger democratic footing.

Some 273,444 candidates were approved at the time of the preparations for the last municipal elections. At the same time, however, 3,585 failed to become such, not having obtained the necessary support in the workforce and microregion or at the time of confirmation by the electoral commission. We see this as an example of the sovereign manner in which the citizens are availing themselves of their rights and of the high demands which are made of those who are entrusted with representing their interests.

The public's high-minded approach ensures the assertiveness of the future deputies and helps them establish between them and the electorate confidential relations and an atmosphere of constructive partnership. The fact

that we have one deputy or candidate per 45 enfranchised citizens contributes to this. Consequently, the essential prerequisites for a further improvement in the democratic cooperation of all classes, groups and strata of the population have been created. We are striving to ensure that the deputies and representatives of the state authorities jointly prepare proposals and adopt them following careful discussion and in unison implement what has been scheduled and monitor the efficacy of the decisions.

In our opinion, it is the local people's representations—there are over 7,800 of them in the GDR—which play a key part in a strengthening of the state and the development of socialist democracy. After all, at no other level are there so close contacts between the organs of authority and the citizens and such direct opportunities for their cooperation in a spirit of competence and responsibility. This makes it possible to create increasingly new forms, ensuing from specific conditions, of the population's participation in public life and to suffuse them with real content.

We have always understood the Leninist principle of democratic centralism as the dialectical connection of central administration and planning and local initiatives and an organic combination of the fundamental direction of state development and the course consciously chosen by the working masses. This success-assuring strategy of the SED is based on experience: oriented toward the interests of the people, central administration promotes people's enterprising participation in the accomplishment of state, municipal and production tasks. The conscious creativity of the masses, on the other hand, influences, in turn, the efficiency of planning and leadership. In this sense we will continue to perfect the application of the Leninist principle.

The socialist state—the broadest political organization of the people and main instrument of the working class and its allies in the upgrading of the new society—is confronted with the task of embodying the adopted strategy in practical results. It is practicable only given the conscious participation in this process of all citizens.

The sovereignty of the people of our country is developing on the basis of the socialist constitution. It legally supports the political, economic, social and spiritual-cultural foundations of society and guarantees the rights of the citizens and their associations. The GDR Constitution has incorporated from preceding German basic laws all provisions which have at any time served the interests of the working people. But they have now been enriched by fundamentally new content and are really supported by the unity of economic and social policy. Thus is the humanism of our revolutionary transformations being put into practice. After all, man is the purpose and measure of policy. All citizens, regardless of nationality, race, philosophy or religious belief, social origins, and social position—have equal rights and duties. The state guarantees freedom of belief and the equality of all before the law.

The humanitarian thrust of socialism was also reflected in our country in the law enacted by the People's Chamber in March 1989 on the extension of active suffrage and eligibility to foreign citizens residing in the republic. And in May those who had reached 18 years of age (given residence in the country of more than 6 months in a period of work per a work agreement and study or permanently) were able to vote, and those who had reached the age of 21, to run in local elections.

The improvement of socialist democracy is possible only on condition that this process be combined consistently and in dialectical interaction with measures pertaining to realization of the rights of the citizen, legality and justice. Our socialist law-based state was formed in revolutionary fighting and is developing under the specific conditions of proximity to the dividing line between socialism and imperialism. For this reason the law and statutes have become an important means of the protection of socialist statehood against internal and external enemies. We take as the basis the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that "the establishment of the political power of the working class is an essential measure for effecting the transition to socialism" (Footnote 6) (E. Honecker, "Selection. Speeches and Articles (1971-1978)," Moscow, 1979, p 365). Only thus has it been possible in the acute class struggle to resolve the question of "who wins?" in favor of the working people.

The problem of power is fundamental in any revolution. Our party has never concealed whom the socialist state serves and whose interests it defends. The achievements of socialism are impossible without the power of the working people. And calling this power in question means jeopardizing all that has been creatd by the people's labor, rocking political stability and denying the social gains of the new system and the practicability of the scientific forecast of the paths of social progress. Whence ensue the insistent demand for common sense and responsibility: warding off by political and also all legal means any attempt to encroach on the socialist system.

The SED's viewpoint is as follows: The Marxist-Leninist party's responsibility to the people makes it incumbent upon it to use power in the latter's interests. Proceeding from this, the government of the republic, for example, has consistently complied with the decisions of the 1945 Potsdam Conference on war criminals. And, since we have broached this topic, the world community may fairly evaluate the legal order of either German state only if it strictly, as in the GDR, demands the punishment of all those directly involved in the Nazi terror and the devastation and suffering caused by German fascism. It should be added also that propaganda of war and fascism, racism and misanthropy is prohibited in our republic. Antifascism, the preservation of peace and concern for a strengthening of friendship between peoples have been proclaimed the highest principles of state policy. Such is the humanitarian essence of worker-peasant power.

The legal system and its educative significance have taken shape in our country as the socialist state and socialist production relations have strengthened. The political and economic strategy adopted in 1971 by the Eighth SED Congress contributed to this to a considerable extent. It was geared to a further upsurge of the people's material and cultural living standard based on a high rate of production, efficiency, S&T progress and productivity growth. The even broader enlistment of the citizens in public life, in the struggle for the achievement of the state's goals, was envisaged also. In other words, the principle of socialism—all for the good of the people—was central at the time of decision-making. This strengthened society's educative functions. Their level is confirmed if only by the abolition in 1987 of the death penalty, which by that time had not been employed in our country for 10 years, and the 10th amnesty announced at that time—the most significant in the time of the republic's existence.

Law-making in the GDR is being perfected constantly. Some 86 important legal enactments and injunctions have been promulgated, changed or supplemented since 1971. This comprehensive program is characterized on the one hand by the fact that the decision concerning its implementation was adopted on the broadest democratic basis and, on the other, the purposive and consistent broadening of rights, specifically those which pertain to the citizens' participation in the control of society. The socialist German state today has the fullest system of democratic laws, and they are being perfected in planned manner. This system incorporates the Code of Labor Laws, the Civil Code and the Code of Civil Procedure, the Youth Act, laws on local people's representations, Petition Law and others.

Let us take a look at how our Code of Labor Laws, for example, emerged. The initiative here came from the Association of Free German Trade Unions and was connected with the considerable changes in the level of production relations and the acceleration of production intensification in the course of fulfillment of the decisions of the Eighth SED Congress. Some 5.8 million working people participated in discussion of the bill. Their observations and suggestions were reflected in semantic and editorial corrections and the actual interpretation of the statutes.

The code thus adopted in 1977 ensures for each citizen the right to work—a most important conquest of socialism. It is inseparable, incidentally (this applies to an equal extent to women also, of course) from the right to participate in management, to obtain a wage in accordance with the quality and quantity of labor, to education, to free time, recreation and leave and to health care and social security both in old age and in instances connected with the modernization of production. And pensioners may continue, what is more, to work in accordance with their specialty. The code guarantees each young person vocational training, and all working people, an opportunity to upgrade their skills. The unions are guaranteed the right to decide questions connected with the planning of production and wages. In accordance with the law, they monitor the state and work of the health and labor safety services and also allocate enterprise money intended for cultural and social needs.

The Code of Labor Laws promotes the strengthening of law and order at work. Over 28,000 conflict-solving commissions elected by the working people and also state courts and special union groups for the study of complaints concerning social insurance concern themselves with this. Two-thirds of the problems arising in these spheres are resolved before the court stage, which testifies to the legal competence and awareness of the citizens, who involve themselves in their settlement on a voluntary basis.

Although it has been possible within the framework of this article to dwell merely on some aspects of the Code of Labor Laws, it would seem that what has already been said affords an opportunity for a comprehension of how far this document is imbued with an aspiration to consolidate man's dignity and abide by constitutional principles. It is testimony also to how responsibly state power treats the rights of the citizens of the republic. For us the right to work is inseparable from socialism. In exercising it we are fulfilling a moral obligation to preceding generations, which in the acute confrontation with capital upheld for the working people the possibility of working freely, in their own interests and those of the whole of society.

It is true that man does not live by bread alone. But it is just as true that his consciousness is determined by being. Socialism is the system of a sovereign people serving the people, and all efforts of the state should be geared to ensuring that each citizen may always perceive this.

The 5-month public discussion of the GDR Civil Code may also serve as an example of how socialism brings the law close to the people and removes people's alienation from it. The 4,091 suggestions and observations which were received in the course thereof were reflected in 360 changes and additions to the wording. The final version, which, to judge by the numerous editions, has become a genuinely popular book, consists of 480 paragraphs. We would say for comparison's sake that in the vertiginous bourgeois law there were 2,385 of them.

Democratic discussion of the Youth Act (approximately 5.4 million concerned citizens participated) and the Agricultural Production Cooperatives Act (almost 580,000 workers of the agrarian sector took part) contributed to the development of legal consciousness.

It is typical of our law-based society that all laws are mandatory for all. And the state itself, whose authorities, as, equally, integrated works, enterprises and establishments, are obliged to safeguard the laws and secure the citizens' interests, is, naturally, subordinate to them and also other legal injunctions. It is perfectly obvious that the high level of legality is directly associated with the

demand that primarily executives of all categories constantly extend their legal knowledge and apply it correctly and consistently in practice.

We put among the characteristic indications of the socialist law-based state, in addition, the equality of all before the law, the inviolability of the person, the independence of judges during the hearing of cases, exercise of the right to defense and other legal guarantees. Far from the least role is performed by the fact that the sentence of any court, be it a criminal, civil or any other case, may, upon the petition of the citizen whose interests are affected, be reviewed by a higher authority. The legal protection of the citizens of the republic has been increased following the institution of the Grand Senate—a new appeals body under the auspices of the GDR Supreme Court—and the introduction in 1989 of regulations governing the judicial rehearing of certain administration decisions.

Legality and justice are also ensured by the practice of the working people's extensive participation in judicial proceedings. In almost all courts of first instance, the sentence is passed, together with professional judges, by two people's assessors also—there are over 60,000 of them in the republic. Like professional judges also, the assessors are elected per their place of residence. The question of the members of comrades' courts is decided similarly. There are approximately 310,000 people on whom this title has been bestowed. Place of residence comrades' courts and labor dispute commissions examine on a community service basis all shop-floor conflicts and one-quarter of criminal and approximately 10 percent of civil cases. In the period 1986-1988 some 34,000 community judges handed down decisions in respect of 57,767 cases. Representatives of a trade union organization participate in more than 80 percent of investigations connected with labor disputes, and delegates of the pertinent workforce, in 70 percent of sessions examining criminal cases. Judges annually hold an average of 500,000 legal advice sessions free of charge.

The extensive enlistment of the citizens in judicial proceedings contributes considerably to the growth of their legal conciousness. People are imbued more profoundly with the idea that ensuring legality, order and safety and preventing crime is a task for the whole of society.

The level of the population's legal schooling is directly connected with a developed system of legal propaganda, the availability of legal literature (the Code of Labor Laws, for example, was published in an edition of over 4 million copies) and the opportunity for everyone to meet in an informal atmosphere with judges or the prosecutor at meetings, of which approximately 60,000 are conducted throughout the country annually.

Legal protection is a criterion of the quality of life. The GDR is among the countries with the lowest level of crime. Some 119,124 crimes were registered in the republic in 1988, which constitutes 715 offenses per 100,000 inhabitants.

An analysis of what has been achieved makes it possible to speak without exaggeration about the socialist law-based state which has been built in our country. This is a historic achievement of the working class and its allies, who jointly established worker-peasant power on German soil. On the basis of stable political, economic and social relations it secures for the citizens constitutional and other legal guarantees and protects their freedom and dignity. This means that the GDR's legislative practice has developed in a direction diametrically opposite to that of bourgeois states, where there has never been nor can there be democracy for the people. For this reason bourgeois yardsticks are too short for measuring the degree of legal maturity of our society.

We see as the way ahead an improvement of the legal conditions of the rapid growth of the productive forces in an atmosphere of S&T revolution; a broadening and intensification of various forms of representation of the citizens' interests; a raising of the legal consciousness and general legal schooling of the population; a constant guarantee of the country's internal security and public order. All this will contribute to an enhancement of the degree of society's maturity and the plan-oriented development and strengthening of the socialist state. A state acting as the genuine representative of the interests of the people and dependable instrument of firm worker-peasant power, which is and will remain the guarantee of the unfolding of the socialist revolution on German soil.

USSR's Yazov Briefs Nemeth on Pact Talks

LD2911223389 Budapest MTI in English 2049 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 29 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, president of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, met members of the Warsaw Treaty Defence Ministers' Committee in Parliament on Wednesday.

Army General Dmitriy Yazov, minister of defence for the Soviet Union, briefed him on the work and progress of the discussions.

The Hungarian Government head stressed that Hungary would remain a member of the Warsaw Treaty in future, too.

At the same time, he pointed out that the organization needed modernization.

He said that the Hungarian Government looked forward to the imminent Gorbachev-Bush summit, and trusted that the talks would bring about some major decisions in connection with the Soviet Union and the United States, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

Comaneci in Switzerland 'At The Moment'

LD3011115589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1142 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] According to information received from the sports editorial department of MAI NAP, which is to be hitting the street this afternoon, Nadia Comaneci, the Romanian gymnast winner of several Olympic and European Championship gold medals, is at the moment in Switzerland. Further details are in the paper and we shall report on it in the evening sports bulletins.

Hungarian Political Grouping Formed in Bratislava

LD2411114989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] In Bratislava, a political grouping called Independent Hungarian Initiative [Fueggetien Magyar Kezdemenyezes] has been formed. The organization has been created by Hungarian writers, teachers, artists, students, and workers in Slovakia. Their aim is the creation of a democracy in Czechoslovakia, built from below, through dialogue.

The Independent Hungarian Initiative wishes to represent the Hungarian minority in this dialogue.

In a statement the new grouping condemned the breaking up of the Prague demonstration. It called for those responsible to resign immediately, and it urged the elaboration of a democratic constitution, and the holding of free elections in Czechoslovakia.

Further Reportage on 26 Nov Referendum Results

Party Representatives Evaluate

LD2911235589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Interview with Peter Tolgyessy, representative of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), and Istvan Csurka, member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) Presidium, by reporter Zoltan Sipos on the results of the 26 November referendum; individual respondents not further identified; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [First respondent] We are not happy, but neither do we feel that we have lost. I am sorry that Hungarian society did not manage to reach a clearer, better, more perfect unity at this referendum. [Word indistinct] our objective in connection with the referendum was precisely this, that questions in which there is enormous agreement should not be linked with one about which the people know almost nothing.

[Second respondent] I consider this result a great success. Not the success of the SZDSZ, but the success of Hungarian society, because Hungarian society has unequivocally rejected the state socialism of four decades, those institutions which have belonged to state socialism.

The fourth question was connected with the head of state. Here the people decided unequivocally that they do not want a presidential election now; that the presidential election should take place after the new [parliamentary] elections.

At the same time the question of whether the population should elect a president directly, or whether Parliament should do this, will have to be examined by the new Parliament. And in the Constitution of the new Hungarian Republic it will have to be decided in accordance with this, taking the population's requirement into consideration. There is now no longer any condition, there is no obstacle of any kind, in the way of free elections.

Parliament has to assemble, it has to dissolve itself, it has to announce two-round free elections, and this election could be an election to change the system.

[Sipos] Do you consider it conceivable that the two organizations might come closer to one another?

[First respondent] The period when we had to take a joint stand against the one big block, the state party, will now come to an end. The party programs will have to be laid down and they will have to compete. However, the ethical codex of this will have to be worked out, and worked out jointly, we, the two most creditworthy organizations struggling for Hungarian democracy, must not now sink into accusations of any kind, into any kind of unworthy struggle, of which there have been indications.

[Second respondent] It is a very important task of the government to be able to handle the crisis for the period up

to the free elections. At least that the further low-altitude flight, plunge, of Hungarian society should cease.

The other thing is the election campaign, which I very much hope will be a decent contest between the parties. If it all goes like this, then in my judgement Hungary will have a creditworthy Parliament, a Parliament where the really qualified deputies of the people sit, and a government can come into being which will answer to this Parliament. And then I think we can begin on the road leading out of the crisis.

Consider Prospective Election Date

LD2911231289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], the Hungarian People's Party, and the Christian Democratic People's Party also consider March to be suitable for holding the parliamentary elections. At the same time, the Hungarian Social Democratic Party considers this date premature. According to the Free Democrats, it is essential that the present National Assembly disband itself at its December session and call elections for 18 March.

The Hungarian People's Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party alike consider worthy of consideration the SZDSZ's new proposal that the new Parliament should place into the people's hand the possibility to elect the head of state.

HSP Views Talks

LD2911225989 Budapest MTI in English 2212 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 29 (MTI)—The new situation brought about by the referendum requires the discussion of the political situation both within the Socialist Party and among the representatives of the various parties, the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] said on Wednesday.

Jeno Kovacs, member of the Presidium, held a press briefing on the session of the HSP.

He said that the party accepted and observed the principles of the referendum. He drew attention to the fact that the HSP had been consistently arguing in favour of the people electing the president of the Republic. The HSP Presidium would like to see the parliamentary elections held as soon as possible, and the group of MPs who are members of the Socialist Party should hold a meeting to press the point.

It was also said at the press briefing—in which Viktor Polgar, new Presidium spokesman, made his debut—that among the members of the government, in addition to Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, and Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, Laszlo Bekesi, minister of finance, and Ferenc Glatz, minister of education, are also members of the HSP.

It was announced at the briefing that the body welcomed the steps Czechoslovakia had taken during the past few days in the direction of reform and the strengthening of democracy.

Party President Rezso Nyers and Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth are to pay a short visit to Moscow on December 4 at the invitation of Mikhail Gorbachev. They will be participating at the meeting at which the CPSU general secretary will provide a briefing on his talks with the U.S. President.

Electoral Board Announces Results

LD2911235189 Budapest MTI in English 2316 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 29 (MTI)—The National Electoral Board and the Election Office of the Ministry of Home Affairs held a press briefing on Wednesday [29 November] evening to announce the final results of the referendum held on November 26.

Of Hungary's 10,566,034 citizens, 7,824,775 were eligible to vote. 4,541,077 (58.03 percent) actually turned out for the referendum.

The referendum was valid and successful on each of the four questions.

The first question—should the election of the president of the Republic be held only after the parliamentary elections?—received a valid vote from 54.92 percent (4,297,751) of the citizens. Of these, 2,151,926 (50.07 percent) said yes, and 2,145,825 (49.93) voted no. The difference was very slight—only 6,101.

The proportion of yes answers to the other three questions (94-95 percent) has not changed from the preliminary results we carried in our Monday transmission.

Interior Ministry, Police Officials Resign

LD2811210189 Budapest MTI in English 1935 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 28 (MTI)—A national conference was held in the Ministry of Home Affairs on Tuesday for leaders, at which—under the decision of the Council of Ministers and the minister of home affairs—a number of personnel changes was announced.

The Council of Ministers accepted the resignation of Police Lieutenant General Jeno Foldesi, state secretary at the Ministry of Home Affairs, with due recognition of his merits, on reaching the upper limit of service time.

The minister of home affairs has also accepted the resignation of several high-ranking police and border-guard officers, including Police Colonel Andras Csillik, former first secretary of the former HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] committee of the Ministry of Home Affairs, and Istvan Kun, border guard brigadier

general, as well as several county police chiefs, with due recognition of their merits, as they have served for the maximum duration.

At the same time, the minister made new appointments to several of the new vacancies.

Home Affairs Ministry spokesman Tomaj Barsi told MTI that a massive personnel change is going on at the ministry.

Many of the people who reached the normal ministry retirement age of 55 but who went on working at the ministry have now tendered their resignations. The great majority of them can look back on a career of 30-35 years in this area. They took part in preparing reforms in the ministry, yet the rapid transformation was too much stress for them, and they have decided to quit.

The decorations the interim president of the Republic awarded today are additional proof of the fact that they carried out their functions satisfactorily.

Szuros Witnesses Supreme Court Oath-Taking

LD2911172889 Budapest MTI in English 1629 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 29 (MTI)—On Wednesday, the judges of the Supreme Court took an oath on the Constitution of the Republic of Hungary in the presence of Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic.

After the oath-taking ceremony, Mr Szuros said that the amendment to the Constitution proclaimed on October 23, the anniversary of the popular uprising and national independence movement, had created the conditions for establishing a free, democratic, law-governed state. This fundamental law contains constitutional guarantees for the legal security of all Hungarian citizens and the conditions required by the civilized European country.

Nemeth Addresses Parliament Session

AU2911194189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Nov 89 pp 1-4

[Speech by Premier Miklos Nemeth at the National Assembly session on 21 November: "The Government Is Taking Up the Task of Cleaning Up the Debris"]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly!

An important phase in the transitional period has come to an end and a qualitatively new phase has begun with the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic.

Many people think that a phase has also come to an end in the cooperation between Parliament and the government. They claim that a period of tough confrontations will now replace the good cooperation that led to the creation of legal institutions, because vital issues will now come to the fore which bring about serious differences of interests.

While it was easy to find the common denominator in creating the basic institutions of a democratic constitutional state because this was also urged by the political forces that participated in the preparations, many people would gladly torpedo the government efforts aimed at solving the economic crisis; either because their political interests require the upsetting of the constructive relations between Parliament and the government, or because they simply do not realize the limits of possible action and the unavoidable nature of necessary measures.

It is clear that tens of thousands of people will not welcome with cheers the decisions you have to make here during this session and in the coming sessions, like they did in the Kossuth Square on the occasion of the proclamation of the Republic. However, our work is not motivated by the desire to extol our decisions. We must serve the people and build Hungary's future, and, for this, it is not enough to build ornamental facades. We must strengthen the foundations, because, without a firm basis, the most ornamental facade stays erect only a limited time, and then collapses.

People accuse us by saying that the process of restructuring our political and legal institutions used all our power, and we had no energy and attention left for the economy. This is mostly true, but, to a certain extent, I regard this as a necessity. Experiences of several decades showed that first we must radically reorganize the political and constitutional conditions in order to be able to take genuine measures in restructuring the economic conditions. One should not forget that, so far, all the efforts aimed at creating an economic democracy have failed due to the lack of a real political democracy and pluralistic conditions in society!

The time has come now, and it is now here, when political reforms can give a greater impetus to economic restructuring. However, these measures will cause pain, and this pain will affect other people and more people than the pain caused by the political restructuring.

The majority wanted and want democracy, and therefore, they supported the destruction needed for this: dismantling the party-state and the state-party.

However, in the economy, the dismantling of the old structure is more agonizing, and the construction of the new structure requires great efforts and sacrifices. Therefore, I think that solving the tasks ahead demands greater, and not lesser, cooperation between Parliament and the government. We must confront the reality, rather than each other. This reality is relentlessly blocking our feet, which are willing to start running ahead. We must escape from this gap even if, in the meantime, the pain penetrates into our bones. This will happen, we know it, and we must take that into consideration.

Let Us Admit Our True Debt At Long Last!

Esteemed National Assembly!

In line with my previous promise, I would like to inform you and the public about Hungary's real debts. It has now become clear to everyone that Hungary has a tremendous foreign debt and this represents a terrible burden for us. However, many people do not understand that this huge burden greatly hinders the maneuvering of our economic policy and simply determines those measures that any government must take in order to make the economy function.

Many people overestimate our economic possibilities because few people are really aware of the ways this huge debt emerged and of how much more we use than possibility allows us to do so; even fewer people understand how much we must limit our needs, because, in the meantime, our possibilities have decreased.

People simply say that we should clearly tell the exact amount of our debts at long last, and we should make an account of that huge amount.

People have been insisting on this issue for a long time because some people feel, and others know that the answer is important in order to clearly see the situation and the possibilities. The issue is old, and its roots are deeper than the process of indebtedness itself. The root of the problem is Stalinism, or rather something that Stalinism raised to legal force under the name of the political economy of socialism. According to this, socialism is superior to capitalism also in the fact that the all-encompasing central budget is at least balanced, and budget deficit is characteristic of capitalist economies that function badly.

Thus, life followed the Stalinist law and there has never been a budget deficit in the socialist countries, at least not openly. We Hungarians were pioneers in this too, and our heretic views on economic management also included showing a certain small deficit. Like in everything else, cautious compromises prevailed here too. When the political leadership kept claiming in the beginning of the seventies that the world market price changes that had caused great commotion in the world would not affect Hungary, a socialist country with a secure CEMA background, this concept had also to be reflected in the financial balance. And we did reflect it!

While the budget defended the enterprises and the population from foreign influences by means of huge expenses, the economy failed to produce the necessary income. Thus, the budget balance did not reflect this contradiction openly; in other words, a much smaller deficit than the real one was made public. This derived from the system, the dogma, and the logic of the economic policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and its decisionmaking mechanism. The country lived as if everything was in perfect order. The standard of living increased, prices were almost stable, and everyone's job was secure; all these were required by the economic rules of socialism.

However, one cannot contravene the real laws of life, and we had to pay for the seemingly calm development. Foreign credits were used to pay for this, and thus, for some years, Hungary indeed consumed and invested more than its own income enabled it. As a result, we accumulated some $9 billion in debts between 1971 and 1979. Then, the recognition came that this could no longer continue.

We began to gradually adjust domestic consumption to the real incomes, but the repayment of the accumulated debts and their interests required more funds than the amount of money we could withdraw from the incomes of domestic enterprises and the population without causing a serious commotion. Therefore, new credits had to be taken.

For some years, we even succeeded in slightly improving the situation, but several political and financial crises shook the international financial world at the beginning of the eighties. Several countries became insolvent, including several socialist countries. The secure sources of credit closed for us too, and thus, we were also threatened with a financial collapse. We had to seek support, and joining the International Monetary Fund [IMF] was the most suitable thing to do. It was clear that, if they accepted us, we would be able to overcome our payment problems with their help, and only with their help.

Then, our political and economic leadership were facing a serious dilemma. In order to join the IMF, every country has to present detailed figures, and our financial situation was considerably worse than the one presented to the public for years. The leadership panicked: If they admitted the real situation—something that would have required unveiling the difference between the real and published amount of the budget deficit that had been accumulating over the years—we would present such a bad image about ourselves that the IMF would not accept us. In that case, we would not get credit and would become insolvent, something that would lead to financial collapse. Finally, the position that prevailed was that we would have no chance of joining the IMF if we presented the real situation. Since Hungary's fundamental interest was to join the organization, revealing the real situation would endanger these interests. The leadership decided in accordance with this.

At that time, there was a difference of about $1.5 billion between the real and published amount of convertible currency debts, and a difference of about 300 billion forints in the budget. Experts thought that this difference would disappear in a few years after joining the IMF, and then everthing would be fine.

The initial 2 or 3 years after joining the IMF seemed to justify the correctness of this decision. As a result of the financial agreement with the IMF, we succeeded in avoiding a solvency crisis, and the strict economic policy that had been developed and followed led to an improvement in our financial balance. Soon, our debts stopped increasing, and, in 1984, our debts even decreased. But, supported by certain circles of economic and financial organizations and by the major trade union leaders, the

political leadership no longer tolerated this really strict economic policy that led to results, and declared the following: Enough crawling, we must accelerate the economy. Without making any decisions to restructure the economy, the leadership wanted to give impetus to economic growth. Imports and investments increased, and so did consumption, and our debts doubled again between 1985 and 1987, and the temporary balanced budget deficit again grew considerably.

Hard Currency Regulations: Too Late and Wrongly Interpreted

Although we succeeded in halting the economic deterioration in 1988, and the turnover balance was positive again and our debts increased only mildly, the measures taken at the time—like the introduction of the world passport and of ill-considered customs regulations—which were popular, threateningly projected the unfavorable trends. All this led to a new trap: Politically withdrawing these measures would have met with a lack of understanding because these were measures that had been accepted favorably; the public would have not tolerated any quick withdrawal of these measures. My responsibility in this was that, although I recognized the fact that this situation could no longer continue, I failed to do something against it! And when I did something by issuing the latest hard currency regulations, we acted too late and these measures can be wrongly interpreted. We cannot blame the population for at least trying to act rationally under the given regulations! However, we had to take the latest measures.

But 1988 also brought a political change and the new Politburo emerging from the party conference of May 1988 also found itself facing the dilemma of the debt trap.

Searching for its economic policy possibilities, the new Politburo had to accept the fact that the accumulated debts and their burden is a heritage that they cannot simply throw away and which does not allow fantasy to develop; on the contrary, it hinders the activity of those who want to give more to society in the short term. If society does not understand the real weight of this burden, it will be impossible to explain the necessary sacrifices and unavoidable limits and make them accepted.

Therefore, we should have unveiled the real situation not only to be able to justify the unavoidable measures but also to make the new leading body to be politically trustworthy.

However, the concern emerged again: If the difference between the real and published figures on the budget deficit and the foreign debt is made public, the confidence of the international financial world will decrease and it will become impossible to maintain our solvency, a goal for which we have made so many sacrifices; thus, a financial collapse would be inevitable. This is contrary to Hungary's interests and thus, one who had the interests of the people and of the country in mind could not decide on revealing the real figures.

Just like 2 years previously, this position won again. However, we decided that we should eliminate this difference in 2-3 years, by putting the considerably messy and inaccurate system of records in order and by taking adequate financial measures.

In accordance with this, the Hungarian National Bank began clarifying the situation at the end of 1988. It had to untangle extremely complicated ties in order to make order in the often impenetrable jungle of events and actions that have taken place since 1982. However, the Hungarian National Bank has done this now, and the government is now in a position to finally be able to give a genuine picture of Hungary's financial situation to the Parliament, our public, and to our foreign partners.

After a thorough examination carried out with the honest intent to reveal the truth, methodical clarications, and a full consideration of all further financial measures, the full amount of our gross foreign debt will reach or even exceed $20 billion by the end of 1989, and our net amount of debts will exceed $14 billion.

The overall state budget debt (which includes the amount of yearly deficits, the readjustment differences deriving from changes in the exchange rate, the credits provided to the State Development Institute, and the government-guaranteed enterprise credit debts) will reach 1,100 billion forints by the end of 1989. This debt amounts to the forint equivalent of our gross foreign debt. Thus, slightly simplifying the matter, one can say that our foreign debts converged [konvertalodott] with the state budget debt in the broad sense of the word (which includes the state budget, the separated state funds, the local council self-management bodies, and the social security funds.)

Of course, the fact that some previous credits—like our supply of hard currency credits in our trade with socialist countries—have now become part of the full and public supply of financial data will not increase the real burdens of our people's economy because we have always paid our installments and the credits exactly on time. Therefore, nothing will change in the amount we pay on servicing our debts and the GDP amount, that is the rate of our debt servicing.

Naturally, the government does not intend to avoid fully informing the country about our debts. Therefore, I asked the president of the Hungarian National Bank to attach the Bank's clarified balance to the draft bill on the central bank the government intends to submit at the beginning of 1990, and to present this balance to the National Assembly with adequate explanations. We will then have to decide on who should have authority over the National Bank in the future, the National Assembly or the Council of Ministers.

Until then, we have already prepared a report which the deputies will receive today and which details the points I have just mentioned.

You can be justified in asking why we did not distribute this report together with the other documents before the meeting. I will answer this question just as honestly as I have now told you the real story.

The government was now facing the same kind of dilemma that the political leadership had already faced on two occasions, and a strong debate was under way quite recently on what we should do for the country's benefit: To continue the present practice, or to present the real situation.

The Road Will Be Difficult In Itself

We have now decided to present the real situation. We are determined to open a new historical phase in the life of our country, and we are convinced that we can succeed in this only by turning a new page. The government has come to the conclusion that our steps aimed at creating a democratic restructuring, a constitutional law and order, and a pluralistic society are providing adequate proof of the sincerity of our intentions. All these steps reflect our determination to finally and radically do away with the past and all its elements and formal aspects. We believe that our policy and our practical steps are providing sufficient cause for preserving confidence in us, and that revealing a new white spot will strengthen, rather than shake, this confidence.

Both the government and I personally want to honestly serve Hungary's interests. The road taken now by the nation will be a difficult and painful one itself. Therefore, we must discard any superfluous burden that hinders progress. We do not want to continue to carry such burdens, and mainly we do not want to leave an unclear situation behind us.

Readiness for confidence and support are not empty words among most of our partners. At the beginning, there were signs—which some people followed with concern, and other followed with hope—that western countries would implement their readiness to help only after the elections, and depending on the results of these elections.

The facts are refuting these speculations. Most western countries do not wait until the elections, but they do expect one thing: a firm reform policy aimed at and supporting restructuring, a consistent economic policy, and an orderly and peaceful transition. The same things we want too. These countries made it clear that they would support the process of restructuring, and not persons or parties.

These countries are aware of our great difficulties and they want to help us overcome these difficulties. However, they can only help us if we do not wait here either, and do not postpone the necessary measures, do not recoil from their unfavorabie effects, and refrain from concentrating our internal power on ruining each other.

My recently held personal talks with President Bush, Chancellor Kohl, Prime Minister Gonzales, Chancellor Vranitzky, and with Mr Dumas and Mr Delors of the EEC convinced me of this. We could notice the same during our previous exchanges of view with French President Mitterand, and with the French, Swedish, Netherland, Canadian, and Australian prime ministers.

I am confident that the progress achieved in our domestic processes ever since will be reflected in our upcoming talks with British Premier Margaret Thatcher and with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and I am also looking forward with great expectations to the upcoming visit of the South Korean president, and to the next year visit of the Japanese prime minister and of French President Mitterrand.

I honestly hope that we will benefit from the extraordinary opportunity offered by the EEC leaders on the occasion of their recent visit in Budapest: They invited me to participate in and take the floor at the meeting of EEC foreign ministers to be held in Brussels in December and dealing with ways to provide aid to Hungary and Poland; U.S. State Secretary James Baker will also participate in this meeting.

All these events are essential conditions for our policy of economic opening, but this does not mean that our foreign relations will now become again unilateral in the other direction.

If ever, this time it is really in our fundamental interest to make sure that Hungary's multilateral relations with the Soviet Union are based on equal rights, mutual advantages, non-interference in each other's affairs, respect for each other's national particularities, and on the freedom of seeking our own ways, and mature and balanced relations between two sovereign countries.

We are following with sympathy the positive changes taking place in several countries in central Eastern Europe. We expect understanding, confidence, and patience toward our efforts too, and we have similar positions toward our neighbors too.

In connection with our neighbors, we also believe that a better understanding of each other and mutual tolerance can be beneficial to all of us. We should act accordingly in our policy and in our everyday practice, and we should refrain from making each other's situation more difficult! However, both in our concepts and in our processes, we should remember one thing: in the future, we should never again subordinate our countries' interests to internationalist or community interests which are not justified for our people and society. We are not alone in professing this position, and we have allies, both closer and distant ones. The Polish leaders and Yugoslav Premier Markovic assured us this year. I expect to discuss this with Polish Premier Mazowiecki at the

beginning of next year, and I would like to meet with the new GDR Premier Modrow in the not too distant future.

The Fundamental Interest of Responsible Political Forces

Esteemed National Assembly!

I would like to speak now about Hungary's political situation. The main issue here is whether we can reach the elections in a legal and constitutional way in the current phase of peaceful transition or not.

I am convinced that we do have a chance, but for this, Parliament and the government need the help of various parties. It is the fundamental interest of every legal and responsible political force in the Hungarian Republic to have a peaceful transition and to orderly carry out the elections. Starting from this premise, I began consultations with the heads of parties willing to do so, and I am planning to continue these consultations.

On the basis of the experiences so far, I see hope for continuing consultations between Parliament, government and party leaders at high-level talks on:

—the timing of the elections and the interim political timetable;
—the content and form of consultative contacts between Parliament and the government on one hand, and the political parties, on the other hand;
—the main issues of the essential economic policy and social policy guidelines, namely:
—the main laws on creating an economic constitutional order and on establishing its institutions;
—specific actions aimed at preserving and strengthening the foreign and domestic financial balance of the capacity of our economy to function;
—modernization of our social institutions which makes it suitable for easing the massive poverty.

I see hope for developing methods of creating a responsible political role to the parties, methods that do not threaten the constitutional and legal character of the transition period, and which also strengthen the political legitimacy of decisions. We must do all this in a way to make sure that Parliament's sovereignty is not violated.

In evaluating our political situation, I would like to deal shortly with the place and role of the government.

Since 23 October, our government has been the government of the Hungarian Republic. In the new constitutional order, the government is responsible to the Parliament that embodies the people's sovereignty. This is important not only from a domestic policy aspect but also strengthens Hungary's international prestige.

In close cooperation with Parliament, and consulting with the parties and the social organizations, the government is concentrating on the tasks of the second phase of the transition period. In this activity, the government starts from the premise that—in the new constitutional order and strengthening its current strategy—it wants to function as an independent national institution responsible to the Parliament. The fact that the government is independent and it stresses this, and includes mainly its new relations with the international surroundings, clearly and firmly characterizes its status within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, and its new type of behavior with the other allies.

The fact that it is a national government means that, in the complex period of transition, it regards the overall national interests above anything else: strengthening the peaceful conditions, democracy, and domestic political stability; preserving the capacity of the economy to function; and reducing—according to the possibilities—the social tensions.

The fact that the government is functioning as a national government also means that it is striving for an integrative role, and, to this aim, it is constantly holding consultations with various parties, social movements, organizations that represent interests, and with the churches. The government is trying to guide and influence the economic, social, and political processes from some sort of a central position.

However, the government is not independent of the parties and the social movements. Nor can it be independent since, as an institution responsible to Parliament, the political balance of forces within Parliament decisively determine the guidelines and actions of the government.

Of course, the government does have a political feature too, and it has never made any secret out of this. As a body, the Council of Ministers is committed to the left-wing European socialist progressive values, and its members fully accept these values. The government members support and respect human and citizen rights, and the citizens' self-organizing and voluntary economic, social, and political communities.

Therefore, the government relies on the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], and on its parliamentary faction, but the HSP also counts on every progressive force committed to a peaceful transition, and on other forces too.

Esteemed National Assembly!

I declared at my aforementioned international talks that the government was accepting and initiating every measure aimed at preserving the country's capacity to function and guaranteeing its solvency. The government can simply not consider whether its measures are popular or not, because, without such measures, there can be no restructuring, acceleration of ventures, and market, but there can be galloping inflation and poverty can also take roots.

No attack will deter us from all this. By doing this, I am only following what my conscience is dictating. I am guided by orders coming from within myself, and, thanks to the integrity of my parents, I have never received any order from within myself for which I had to feel ashamed!

We have to travel a difficult road, and we can do this only if we form an alliance for democracy, and we also take a stand for democracy in the economy. Therefore, we need neither financial terror nor a special economic situation.

At the same time, any social measure that is not covered by economic achievements will not bring us closer to our goals either.

We keep receiving letters that tell us about increasing social problems and miserable human conditions. I am aware of these problems not only from these letters. There are such cases not because we do not know about them or we do not want to help. We do seek and search for possibilities of help, but we cannot exceed our financial limits.

Nor can we apply a restructuring method that does not try to also solve human problems by revealing the possibilities.

Nor can we accept any growth, acceleration, and venture acceleration which are not based on an economic restructuring. Without this, this would resemble an old car in which we rev up the engine. However, our car would not go faster, it would simply disintegrate.

Many people offer us magic recipes and ask the government to carry them out.

I do not believe in such magic recipes. It would be a dangerous illusion to believe that we could slash through a maze of problems that have accumulated over several decades by a single sword cut. The method used by Alexander the Great is simply useless here, because our situation is much more complicated than the Gordian knot. We need diligent workers hands and quality work carried out honestly and in discipline, rather than a sword.

We Are Being Tested by Europe

Esteemed National Assembly!

I must speak about the factors that are threatening or could help the capacity of the government and of the administration to function.

The loosening of the party-state system and its dismantling have led to disturbances in the state political mechanism. The party- state system fulfilled a sort of society and state organizing force which held the state and political mechanism together. The state administration fumbled with dismantling this mechanism because the administration did not feel the defending net of democracy behind it.

Both the government and I personally have always been mortal enemies of any kind of witch hunt, and I will always be one. Not only for moral reasons, but also because this can cause great damage to our country. I deeply condemn the methods with which the state apparatus was destroyed in 1945-46, because, in addition to causing innumerable human tragedies, the power deprived itself of its own professional basis.

The same way, I deeply condemn any manifestation calling for a revenge campaign on the basis of party affiliation or simply because of an activity carried out in the state administration. It is in the interest of every party and of the country as a whole to preserve the capacity of the government to function.

Therefore, I regard as necessary to already start negotiations with the parties on the leading positions that must be regarded as mainly political functions and where officials change in accordance with the achievements of political parties in their power struggle. However, in the case of all the other functions, we must guarantee that there are no other conditions of fulfilling these positions but professional knowledge and human integrity. The law on civil servants will thoroughly and lastingly regulate this issue, and the Council of Minister has accelerated the preparation of this law.

We must also judge the issue of the officials of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] on the basis of such principles. A law in the Labor Code should ban all cases in which trained professionals are denied employment solely because of their former party employment.

In the spirit of dismantling the party-state, the government also made it possible for some 300-400 people formerly employed in the party apparatus to retire with age exemptions.

Probably some people are now saying to all this that the government is saving the party-state apparatus employees! All I say is to be more cautious with those remarks. One cannot exclude the possibility that, after some time, today's suspicious people will be glad to have this law!

Beware! We are being tested by Europe. We are tested to see whether we can take our place and live together in our new social order in a civilized way, without hatred, and at peace with each other.

We stipulated in our Penal Code that there can be no death sentence for political reasons. However, it would be a tragedy if the Penal Code had to replace honesty and moral behavior in our everyday coexistence.

It is tragic that the previous disgrace in our history is again threatening us. Therefore, I call upon all the sober minded and responsible members of our nation to get together to halt the spreading of this outrageous and extremely harmful discrimination! I do not ask for unprincipled approach to former extortionists, violators of the law, or abusers of power! They should carry the consequences of their former lifestyle. However, there should be no witch hunt against honest and trained people with a moral capital! To make it even more comprehensible: I suggest that, in the future, professional knowledge and talent should be the only criteria

for everyone in every job! But we should demand this from everyone, from the doorman to the minister!

We should ask one what he knows, and not where he comes from! I believe in honest workers, peasants, and intellectual workers, and we can advance only with them and with their work and their understanding! They should also have confidence in us: It is constraint and a very narrow maneuverability, rather than ill will or a desire to mislead, that is guiding the government when it is calling for sacrifices and understanding from every citizen; we must pay a lot for past mistakes, but if we understand this and we unanimously concentrate on future tasks, I believe that, after a few bitter years, this country will emerge from its current difficulties! However, this requires cooperation, tolerance, and, above all, hard work. Things will not work without this!

Democracy Should Be Based on Order

Esteemed National Assembly!

In connection with this circle of issues, I want to speak about the entanglement of the political and moral problems which developed in the Army. I do not have to prove how dangerous this is.

Therefore, as a first step aimed at investigating this problem, we will immediately delegate a Parliamentary committee. In connection with this, I inform you about the facts I have already discussed at the commanders' meeting of the Hungarian People's Army:

—In connection with the situation that has developed, I repeatedly spoke with Lajos Czinege. Following this, the retired deputy premier resigned from his rank of Army general and agreed to move out of his apartment;

—At my orders, the defense minister will submit a report on all the essential allegations of the Bokor book by 1 December, and I will also submit this report to the parliamentary investigation committee. I also asked the defense minister to prepare a report on the changes planned or carried out in the Army's organization and its personnel in recent years. This will enable the defense minister to give an adequate answer to Deputy Ferenc Kiraly's interpellation by 30 November.

However, in connection with this situation, I would like to stress that, according to the government's experience and judgment, the decisive majority of our Army's officers and soldiers are fully complying with the relevant laws and regulations, and are honestly serving the nation.

Our People's Army is a national institution worthy of our society's respect and appreciation. The previous behavior or the incorrect attitude of certain medium or higher ranking officers cannot justify anyone in denigrating or attacking the thousands of officers and the integrity, professional training and human responsibility of the soldiers.

Such generalizations and sorts of public mood swaying could weaken our reform process, the consistent implementation of democratic restructuring, and our internal stability! To say nothing of the fact that these things can also hurt the dignity and human honesty of many a blameless soldier.

I can also inform you that, in harmony with the defense strategy, the government will decide as early as in November this year on initiatives aimed at modernizing the organizational framework of the armed forces and of the Defense Ministry, and the government will make this public.

In its military policy, the government believes in the principle of sufficient defense. As a result of a process of detente, the extent of military confrontation in Europe is diminishing, and therefore, in harmony with the expected positive developments in European processes, the government intends to implement further possible and rational troops reductions, including a reduction of military service.

In addition to a united and morally clean Army committed to the Constitution and to the defense of our country, it is also important to have a strong police, clean in its spirit and firm in its dignity. We cannot comply with the situation that public security is deteriorating, crime is spreading, black market people dealing in hard currency are increasingly unscrupulous, and there are more and more places which people who cannot defend themselves and children better avoid. We must defend the people and restore the possibility of calm evening strolling, and we must halt the spread of violence.

Democracy should rest on order and respected rules.

Therefore, we must support the police because there is also great need for them in our new Republic.

We also need a state mechanism that functions well, law-abiding citizens, and a firm moral order induced from within. These are indispensable values of a civil society without which we cannot advance. I already mentioned the fact that it is easier to destroy than to build. We have had enough of destruction. Let us also start building and we should have confidence that we can carry things out. Without confidence, things will not work!

Esteemed National Assembly!

Struggle against bureaucracy has been the oft-mentioned slogan of past decades. Now, instead of words, the government is taking up a real debris-cleaning activity.

The 4-decade heritage of bureaucratic regulations is heavy. The mass of public administration regulations is so big that it creates 14 million cases annually from the 10 million Hungarian citizens. This helplessness justifiably creates a sense of subordination.

Therefore, in the coming months, we will also carry out the so- called deregulation program in public administration in order to open the way for a self-management based on the citizens' freedom. By eliminating regulations based on distrust toward the citizens, the issue of 500,000 official certificates and documents could become superfluous in 1 year. By eliminating the official licenses that do not benefit society, or by settling these issues through a simple registering, some 800,000 decisions and procedures could be eliminated in 1 year. By eliminating the unjustified official obligations, some 3 million personal appearance in various offices would become unnecessary.

It is the goal and firm determination of the government to place the relations between the state and its citizens on new bases, and the main task of the state should be to serve its citizens. We are determined to use every means at our disposal to promote the development of self-government. We know that, for this, we must create the financial, legal, and organizational framework necessary for the establishment of a self-governing system.

We will negotiate with the political parties and the citizens on the regulation principles in the near future. Most probably, the National Assembly committees will also discuss the issue of self-government. On the basis of all this, we want to submit to the National Assembly a well thought out concept of regulations that is supported by all the progressive forces in our society.

Pal Teleki [former Hungarian premier] wrote the following in his work "Let Us Dare To Be Hungarians" in 1943: "We are expecting everything from the state. There is hardly any activity without state subsidies, there is no scientific development without state organization, and there is hardly any activity which the state does not try to patronize. If we fail to do something to counteract this state of affairs, all this will lead to the complete degeneration of our society."

This warning has not lost any of its timeliness.

Construction in Deep Crisis

Esteemed Deputy Colleagues!

Rarely has a generation's life been free of worries here in the Carpathian basin. Our generation is not one of those. There were times when our ancestors accepted great sacrifices to make sure that this small country continues to exist, even at the price of giving up their own personal happiness. What can we do now?

We can blame our immediate predecessors, the former leaders, the MSZMP as a ruling party, and the power establishment, and we can judge the consequences of all this. This is inevitable, but this can only offer a lesson, but not a solution.

We could find ourselves at each other's throats and struggle along with all the existing interest groups, political trends, or greater personal ambition, while we are letting the greatest thing we could possess for preservation—the country itself—slip into anarchy.

We can regard the interest of Hungary as paramount and subordinate our individual fate to this paramount interest. This requires the greatest sacrifice from us, but a law that is stronger than any written law, that is, our statesmanlike and political responsibility as well as patriotism obliges us to do this. Anyone who objectively judges the legislative activity of our Parliament cannot question the fact that you have this responsibility!

Just during the period of my premiership, the National Assembly has created some 60, mostly comprehensive, laws, a number equivalent to the total number of laws created since 1980. This clearly reflects the great changes this National Assembly has lived through. However, the substance behind the numbers is much more important, and this substance can be summed up in the fact that, depending upon each other and at the price of big debates, the National Assembly and the government have successfully continued the unique experiment of building the institutions of political and economic democracy also during a deep crisis. This is a unique experiment because historical experience warns us that crisis attracts a strong hand that creates order, a dictatorship, something that we must avoid at all costs because we know that we can count on development only through democracy.

On behalf of the government, I ask you to fulfill our fateful role honestly and in solidarity toward each other as long as the mandate of this National Assembly and of this government is valid, and to embark on all our tasks in this spirit.

Social Democrats Rejoin Socialist International

LD2411154889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The Socialist International has restored the membership, with full rights, of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. This was decided unanimously at the Geneva meeting.

Workers Militia Property Under Inventory

AU2411182889 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 Nov 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "60,000 Submachine-Guns From 180 Places—The Workers Militia Property Under Inventory"]

[Text] The transport of the Workers Militia weapons to the Army depots has been concluded. This was announced by Ferenc Markovics, head of the Defense Office of the Council of Ministers and government commissioner in charge of dismantling the Workers Militia. Markovics said that they collected 60,000 submachine-guns, 53,000 pistols, 4,700 light machine-guns, and 600 machine-guns from 180 locations. The government will decide on the fate of these weapons.

The property of the Workers Militia is currently under inventory. The council leasing contracts will be abrogated, and the Finance Ministry issued a tender for the Militia's real estate and other properties. The goal is to sell this property to the highest bidders.

Markovics also said that half of the 617 professional workers militiamen had retired, since there are legal opportunities for that in the Armed Forces following 25 years of service. Many militiamen found jobs with the police, the Army, and with the law enforcement agencies. The other militiamen will receive their salaries for 1 year, and, during this time, they can look for a job. Employment of more than 300 civilian employees is causing problems because these people are not entitled to retirement exemptions, and their time of notice is only 6 months. However, according to its possibilities, the State Office for Wages and Labor will try to help these people.

In conclusion, Markovics said that the elimination of the Workers Militia was proceeding according to a predetermined plan.

Parties Appeal to Premier Over Budgetary Support

LD2411142289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] The six parties taking part in the talks determining the budgetary support of parties have requested the head of government to take measures in order to carry out the already existing decisions.

The spokesman of the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party, on behalf of the other parties, recalls that at the talks, the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum], the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] and the FIDESZ [Alliance of Young Democrats] with their minority opinion, want to prevent the parties obtaining their due financial support.

The three aforementioned organizations consider that membership numbers are impossible to check. However, according to the others, the Audit Office will be able to check whether the financial support claimed is in proportion to the number of members is justified or not.

Government Statement on GDR Travel Restrictions

LD2911210689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] The Polish Government has viewed with profound concern and disapproval the GDR authorities' recent restrictions, which result in discrimination against Polish citizens staying in that country or in transit through that country. The restrictions are contrary to declarations of the new GDR authorities on developing friendly and good-neighborly relations with Poland, and contrary to the CSCE Final Act and the Vienna meeting Final Act, the statement from the Government Press Office says.

The Polish Government demands the withdrawal of these decisions and at the same time expresses its readiness to undertake joint measures aimed at the elimination of negative phenomena in the passage of traffic between the two countries. A Polish has delegation left for Berlin to discuss this issue.

Bulgarian 'Opening of the Gate' Viewed

AU2911151389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Nov 89 p 4

[Report by Bogdan Mikolajczyk, TRYBUNA LUDU Sofia correspondent: "The Opening Of The Gate"]

[Excerpts] After 35 years of heading the party and state, 78-year-old Todor Zhivkov has left the summit of the party establishment. The new leader of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] is 53-year-old Petur Mladenov, formerly minister of foreign affairs. This change took place at the BCP plenum on 10 November. [passage omitted]

Why has this historic operation not taken place until now, asked one of the speakers at the 17 November National Assembly session, praising the surgeons performing this operation for having prevented complications and suffering by anyone.

I personally think that the time of these changes has been dictated by the latest events in the GDR, which have shown that essential reforms cannot be withheld until one has reached the critical stage. I think that Mikhail Gorbachev's earlier and latest remarks, whereby Moscow ceased to determine what is happening in the socialist countries a long time ago, and that this is now the business of the respective capital cities, is not without significance, or perhaps I should say that this is of fundamental significance.

What next? An irreversible turnabout has occurred in Bulgaria, but the rest of the way seems neither short nor easy. This, Mladenov has said, is purely because there are still forces who would like to preserve their old privileges and the old structures. One Bulgarian scientific authority has described the changes so far as a mere opening of the gate.

For the time being, tens of thousands of people are gathering in front of this gate, people who are starting to believe that this time, the socialist transformations announced by the new leadership and the building of a modern, democratic, and law-governed state will not be mere slogans. That is a good start.

Mazowiecki's Moscow Speech to Soviet Poles

AU2911162089 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Nov 89 p 2

[Speech by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at a meeting with representatives of the Polish community in the USSR held at the Polish Embassy in Moscow on 25 November]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen!

Dear fellow countrymen!

I am pleased that the program for my visit to the Soviet Union includes today's meeting with you. It pleases me that following my recent meeting in Warsaw with the presidents of Polish associations, I can now meet with a larger group of my fellow countrymen—representatives of Polish communities in the USSR.

I warmly thank you for coming here, and I would like you to return to your families and communities convinced that the affairs of Poles living abroad are close to my heart.

Please convey my expressions of respect and gratitude for remaining Polish to all our fellow Poles living in the Soviet Union.

I would like to express particular thanks to the teachers for the service that they have performed in preserving knowledge of the Polish language and thus making it possible for children and young people to be familiar with our great cultural achievements. Were it not for their efforts there would be no Polish intelligentsia in the USSR; an intelligentsia that is of such importance for national minorities although it is still small.

I also address expressions of recognition and respect to the Polish clergy, whose representatives I am delighted to be able to meet today. Polish priests, who have worked under exceptionally difficult conditions and have often paid the highest price for their views, have maintained many Polish parishes, which were often the only centers of Polish life.

I thank all of you who took on the difficult job of creating Polish folk music and dance groups, educational and cultural institutions, and the Polish associations that have recently been set up.

However, the highest recognition and esteem is owed to Polish families, which were the last bastion that effectively defended the language, faith, and culture of our

forbearers even where there were no Polish organizations or institutions in existence. May the Polish family be praised!

The path that has led us to this meeting has not been an easy one. Many things had to change, many things had to happen in Poland and in the Soviet Union, before this meeting could take place. History has treated us harshly! An exceptionally difficult and tragic share of the Polish destiny befell you. Some of you were deported or exiled, or are the descendants of those who were.

However, these bitter fates are an important source of national experience, and they force us to seek out new solutions and a new way of viewing the future of our nation.

However, reflecting on these fates may bolster faith in the indestructible strength of the nation and make a rebirth from political and economic nonexistence possible. Your presence here is proof of the existence and active nature of that strength. After all, we are representatives of a Polish community that is rebuilding itself.

This revival of Polishness is part of a general movement in Soviet society and it simultaneously strengthens the changes that are taking place here. It pleases me that Poles are not only observers, but also spokesmen for and participants in these changes. These processes are also important for Polish affairs in Warsaw.

The government that I head was formed as a result of a sensible compromise, which led to Solidarity's election victory. The government is implementing a program of profound, fundamental reforms that are aimed at creating a sovereign, democratic state that possesses an effective economy. The path ahead of us is not an easy one, but I am sure that we will achieve our goals thanks to the wise actions, selflessness, and work of all society.

The Poles scattered all over the world, including you who live in the various republics of the Soviet Union, have an important and appropriate place in these reforms. I hope that the future will see opportunities opening up for direct economic contacts between Poland and Poles who are citizens of the USSR. This will be aided by the similarity between the main directions of the economic reforms in Poland and the Soviet Union, which are aimed at releasing individual and collective initiative and enterprise.

It will also be made easier by the Polish Government's new policies with respect to the Polish communities in neighboring countries. This policy has undergone a significant evolution: from the denial of the existence of Polish ethnic groups, through indifference toward their fate, to initially cautious actions in support of them. Without going into the reasons for this, and there were undoubtedly many of them, I would like to assure you that the present activities of Polish communities will be attended by interest, goodwill, and assistance on the part of the Polish Government.

Your current problems and the possibilities for our involvement in surmounting them were an important part of my talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU general secretary and Supreme Soviet chairman, and Nikolai Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Although we will have to solve a great many difficult and complicated issues to arrive at a satisfactory state of affairs, I am convinced that the most important obstacles to finding and applying appropriate solutions have already been eliminated.

We should already, without discarding anything from our experience to date and by drawing on experience of cooperation with Polish communities all over the world, enhance our current forms of contact with the Polish ethnic community in the Soviet Union, and this should express itself in, among other things, the community's increasingly greater participation in summer activities for Poles living abroad: summer camps, Polish language and culture courses, specialist courses, festivals and congresses.

However, the broadest contact between people—tourism, and family and occupational contacts—will be decisive for mutual relations. Poland, for its part, is seeking to facilitate such contacts as much as possible. We are dismantling all the barriers to travel and mutual visits.

These contacts should not only serve to strengthen the Polish ethnic community, but should also strengthen cooperation and friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. You can play an important role as a natural bridge between Poland and the Soviet Union, as well as between the Polish people and the Russian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian peoples. However, this requires understanding for the aspirations of these peoples and the cultivation of attitudes of mutual respect and tolerance.

Economic, cultural, and scientific cooperation, and exchanges in culture and religion can materially and spiritually enrich all the peoples of central and Eastern Europe. That is why we are trying to ensure that appropriate conditions exist in Poland for the cultural development of ethnic minorities, including that of the Lithuanian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian minorities.

I believe that the enhancement of the process of making life democratic in our part of Europe will be accompanied by the strengthening of the much desired foundations of tolerance and mutual respect in relations between peoples, and that attitudes toward ethnic minorities will become an important yardstick for assessing the maturity of society and the intentions of leaders.

Dear fellow countrymen, the Polish Government wants to pursue an active policy with respect to the Polish ethnic community in the USSR, but its future will not be determined solely by political decisions and agreements. What will turn out to be decisive is the ability to get at and tap the great sources of strength and the possibilities that reside within us.

There are many things that provide encouragement in this respect. There is the encouragement stemming from external circumstances and that provided by the 1,000-year history of our people and by Poland's rich, profuse culture, which has grown up on the crossroads between East and West. There is the encouragement provided by the pontificate of our fellow countrymen, Pope John Paul II, whom I hope you will be able to welcome in the Soviet Union.

So all of us draw courage and faith in our own strength, in the abilities and capabilities of the Polish nation, from these sources.

The times that we are living through should for all of us be a time of faith in our capabilities and a time of hope that we are heading toward a better future. Your are the sons and daughters of an indestructible nation. May this meeting, which bears witness to the indestructibility of Polish values, a meeting that is taking place at a time that sees Poland, in a world in which important changes are taking place, providing central Europe with a model of peaceful, evolutionary solutions to difficult problems, a meeting between us from Poland and you, who are preserving Polish values, strengthens us mutually. May it strengthen us in our attachment to these values. I can surely say, here in Moscow, at this historic time, that you can be sure of our assistance, and, at the same time, you can be proud of the nation to which you belong.

Mazowiecki Addresses Leningrad Intelligentsia

LD2711234789 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Leningrad, Nov. 27—Upon his arrival in Leningrad's "Pulkovo" Airport, Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki was greeted by Vladimir Hodyriev, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Municipal Council and his deputy Aleksandr Avgieyev who chairs the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society in Leningrad.

Accompanied by a honorary escort of motorcycles, the Polish premier went from the airport to the Monument of the Heroic Defenders of Leningrad. He laid white-and-red flowers at the foot of the monument and in the museum, commemorating the heroic defence during 900 days of blockade by the Nazis.

Mazowiecki next travelled to the Piskaryevskiy Cemetery which is shocking evidence of the martyrdom of Leningrad's residents. In the company of a guard of honour and to the tune of the national anthems of Poland and the Soviet Union, the head of the Polish Government laid a white-and-red wreath and signed the visitors book.

Later on, Mazowiecki met with municipal authorities. He took special interest in upcoming elections to local councils.

As was the case in Moscow, also in Leningrad representatives of the press flocked to interview the first non-communist premier from Eastern Europe. They took interest in the social and political situation in Poland and the future of Polish-Soviet relations.

"People in your country think that it is you who feed us, people in our country on the other hand think that it is you who take everything away from us. Our relations must be put on both feet, must be based on normal trade, "stated Mazowiecki in reply to a question.

A visit to Leningrad's famous Hermitage art gallery was the next point on the agenda of Premier Mazowiecki's visit.

I would like you to know that I do not speak to your leaders in a language that is different from the one in which I speak to you, Tadeusz Mazowiecki told representatives of Leningrad intelligentsia at a meeting here.

I say the same to them: We need a success of your transformations and you need a success of our transformations, he stated. His words, very warmly received by intellectuals from Leningrad, constituted a certain summing up of the five-day official visit to the Soviet Union by the head of the Polish Government.

Earlier the Polish premier said in the Kremlin that Poland did not treat relations with the Soviet Union in a time-serving way and would meet its obligations within the alliance irrespective of what political camp would wield power.

Mazowiecki pointed out to a specific Polish road of gradual and evolutionary changes. Poland is paving the way for some democratic and pluralistic solutions and the way they are introduced does not threaten European stability, he added.

I am of the opinion that it is a valuable experience. There are proper prospects for all political movements in Poland. However, all must think over the role they have played so far and will play in the future.

Mazowiecki appealed to those present not to yield to oversimplified propaganda according to which his government does not properly care for precious social values. The premier said that the values for which advocates of socialism had fought may be realized in various ways. The present government can see all the difficulties which poor people face or will face.

The Polish premier appealed and also encouraged Leningrad intelligentsia to expand ever loser cultural cooperation with Poland.

Leningrad authorities gave a gala reception in honour of Mazowiecki at the end of his stay in the city.

USSR Vice Minister Addresses Soviet Poles

LD2611014889 Warsaw PAP in English 2305 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 25—While taking the floor during Prime Minister Mazowiecki's meeting with Polonia here today, Soviet Foreign Vice-Minister Ivan Aboimov thanked for an invitation to take part in this interesting and beneficial exchange of views. He said such a meeting was held for the first time and that its significance was stemming from this fact.

Many problems facing Polonia which have been discussed here concern the two sides. Many of them can be solved only by joint effort. Even our presence here confirms the fact that the two sides are aiming at solving problems which have been touched upon during today's meeting, he said.

What has been discussed today fully reflects our official policy on nationalities, the policy of our party and the state, said Aboimov.

I hope that with joint effort and in close cooperation we will manage to solve many of these issues. However, I do not say that it will happen as early as tomorrow.

Gorbachev Greets Polish-Soviet Society

AU2811185989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Nov 89 p 2

[Letter from Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU general secretary, to the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society on the occasion of the society's 45th anniversary—date not given]

[Text] Dear Friends,

I send greetings to all activists of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society and all Polish citizens who are personally involved in the strengthening of good and neighborly relations as well as cooperation between our two countries.

We are not just witnessing, but actively participating in the profound and complex processes of renewal, and the stormy changes that are taking place throughout the world. Devotion to the idea of mutual respect and the rapprochement between nations, undoubtedly facilitates a much better understanding of the conflicts of our times, and helps each and every one to advance. This idea stems from timeless humanitarian values. In all historical periods these values were shared, defended, and strengthened by the best individuals and the most progressive representatives of Poland and Russia.

Soviet society and the Soviet leadership are sincerely grateful to your society for its multilateral, noble activity which serves to deepen the mutual understanding between millions of Polish and Soviet citizens, and serves to broaden the spheres of fruitful Polish-Soviet contacts.

I am convinced that your society will continue to act creatively with the aim of preserving and propagating all these good traditions and achievements, which were and continue to be present in Polish-Soviet mutual activity.

I wish you good fortune, renewed vigor, and many successes.

Sakharov Says Poland Ahead of USSR's Changes

LD2111000289 Warsaw PAP in English 1853 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 20—Shortly before an official visit of Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the USSR, PAP's Moscow correspondents asked Professor Andrey Sakharov what message he would like to convey to Poles in connection with this historic event.

Sakharov said: "First of all, I would like to stress that throughout my whole life, problems of Poles were equally close to me as the problems of my own country.

"I think that Poland is ahead of the developments which are taking place in the USSR now. I wish Poland success on the road she has chosen as this does not only determine the fates of your country, although it is the most important thing, but also has its repercussions for the whole camp of socialist countries, also for the USSR.

"It seems to me that the most important thing for Poland now is to overcome her economic problems and to reform the structures of management. I can see that the Polish people have confided in the new government and are ready for some necessary sacrifices typical of the period of transition. Whether the government manages to solve these problems depends on many circumstances. I believe that in her work, Poland will meet with international support. The modernization of industry and agriculture is the crucial issue. It is a very difficult task which cannot be solved immediately, nevertheless a very important one," Sakharov said.

"I am sure that Poland will manage to solve all of her difficulties of the period of transition and that she will develop the spirit of democracy and confidence in the new Cabinet which is composed of new people and governed by a new spirit. It is difficult but possible," Sakharov said.

Asked whether Premier Mazowiecki's visit to the Kremlin can be regarded as the official knell of the "Brezhnev Doctrine", Sakharov said:

"I think that as long as perestroika in the USSR is continued and remains vigorous, despite encountered difficulties, the Brezhnev Doctrine is out of the question. The doctrine was a sign of the fear of the Soviet apparatus, the fear for its own position in the country. Perestroika and its leaders do not need it, and even find it alien. In my opinion it cannot pose danger neither to Poland nor to Hungary nor to any other country where the progressive changes will take place."

To the question whether the developments taking place in Poland, Hungary, the USSR, the GDR and Bulgaria now, can be regarded as the "springtide of nations" or the decomposition of what used to be described as the "Soviet empire", Sakharov said that these were exceptionally important developments which reflect the mainstream of the historical development.

"In Western Europe, the integration processes tend to deepen now but this proceeds in a democratic way whereas the "Soviet Empire" needs a process of another character and different orientation. Both as regards the situation in the USSR and the USSR's relations with other countries of Eastern Europe, there is a absolute need for changes which would aim simply at freedom and greater autonomy. For me, things that take place in Poland, Hungary now and, the odds are that also in Bulgaria reflect these tendencies," Sakharov said.

While answering another question concerning closer relations between Bucharest-Pyongyang-Beijing, Professor Sakharov said that it was a natural process and consists in rapprochement of related political forces, but still however, filled with terror, Sakharov said.

The fact that the leadership of the USSR, officially did not condemn the tragic events in Beijing last June also arises concern, Sakharov said.

Asked how real is the threat of the military coup d'etat of which he had warned from the rostrum of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Sakharov said that he meant the danger of the introduction of the emergency state in the whole country as the reaction to the developments which were confined to Trancaucasus.

"I think that the introduction of the emergency state is an exceptionally dangerous thing. It would shatter perestroika, make it impossible to hold democratic elections to the local and republican authorities. This would be a devastating blow in perestroika and democracy."

"I am not convinced that the army is the force which could initiate the reactionary military coup d'etat. The processes of differentiation will, and actually have already started to, take place," Sakharov said.

Austrian Police Beat Up, Wound Pole

LD2711105389 Warsaw PAP in English
0111 GMT 27 Nov 89

[By PAP correspondent Andrzej Rayzacher]

[Text] Vienna, Nov. 26—A Polish citizen was brutally beaten up and shot in the leg by police in Austria last Wednesday.

The Pole left his passport in his car and could not show it when asked to do it by two policemen. That was why the latter decided to detain him. However, as he objected to this, the policemen used force, brutally beat him up and shot in the leg. Next, he was taken to hospital by ambulance, underwent a surgery, received treatment for his numerous wounds and was placed at an intensive care ward.

The consular section of the Polish Embassy in this country has taken measures to give aid and legal assistance to the victimised Pole and is going to protest verbally at the Foreign Ministry and ask for explanation on Monday.

PZPR Condemns Moves Against Holiday

LD2911220989 Warsaw PAP in English
2051 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23—The PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] CC [Central Committee] Political Bureau expresses a firm protest against the initiative of a group of Sejm deputies proposing to stop celebrating July 22 as a national holiday.

This is an intention worthy of unequivocal condemnation. It offends the patriotic feelings of millions of Poles who will always remember the day of July 22, 1944 as the beginning of liberation from the nightmare of Nazi occupation. It offends all those for whom the July manifesto declared by the forces of the Polish left on that day stood for hope of social justice being fulfilled and was remembered as such by them. This is an intention renewing sharp divisions in Polish society dating back to the forties.

The Political Bureau states that attempts at discrediting the July 22 holiday are not a single case. It is tied with various activities aimed at discrediting 45 years of People's Poland.

We support strivings to condemn Stalinism in Poland. We are against personality and symbols cult which are associated with repressions and crimes.

The PUWP has as early as 1956 carried out a bold, public squaring of accounts with Stalinism. It condemned terror and its ideological justification. The party returned to the Polish road of socialism declared in the July manifesto.

The anti-Stalinist re-evaluations of 1956 initiated and enabled a road—not void of bumps and slowdowns—whose current stage is exemplified by: The August agreements of 1980, the 9th extraordinary PUWP Congress and its line of socialist renewal. The 10th CC Plenum, the debates and spirit of the "Round Table". The stance of the 2nd national conference of PUWP delegates which held debates this May on removing the remnants and consequences of Stalinism in Poland, finally closes this settlement of accounts begun 33 years ago.

Identifying the whole 45-year-period of People's Poland with Stalinism, unilateral assessment of those years as wasted, presenting them as an unending chain of crimes and evil, conflicts and distortions is a historical forgery. It is an example of dishonest struggle aimed at removing

the whole left from the Polish stage. These lies are aimed at paving the way for a new monopoly of power, this time of conservative forces.

The Political Bureau calls on the PUWP Parliamentary Floor Group to adopt a firm stand and to vote against the elimination of the holiday of Poland's rebirth.

In respecting its history, drawing from various mainstreams of national tradition, consolidating and not dividing these mainstreams, Poland should observe both November 11 and July 22.

The PUWP CC Political Bureau with utmost firmness condemns anti- Soviet provocations such as the profanation, partial demolition and burning of Lenin's statue in Nowa Huta and making a demoralizing—in its partisanship and intolerance—show of the removal of Feliks Dzierzynski's statue. We understand the indignation of Soviet public opinion and are in solidarity with it.

Demonstration at Lenin Monument Ends

LD2911222389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] [Reporter] A happening entitled "Entertainment Revisited" [title of a popular series of radio programs of the late 70's] prepared by young people has not materialized at the Lenin monument in Nowa Huta. The militia prevented the expected excesses, using water cannons and tear gas. The young people chanted demands for the dismantling of the monument and the withdrawal of the Soviet Armed Forces from Poland.

[Announcer] Our Krakow correspondent has just informed us that the excesses in Nowa Huta have ended. Mediation by OKP [Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group] Deputy Edward Nowak has succeeded. The deputy also promised that tomorrow he will propose a motion to dismantle the monument in Nowa Huta.

Defense Minister Discusses Military Service

LD2411151389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1029 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Remarks by Defense Minister Florian Siwicki in response to deputies' questions at the Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] [Deputy Marek Rusakiewicz, citizens parliamentary floor group] Madame Speaker, may it please the House! The Minister of National Defense has publicly announced the curtailment of basic military service from 24 to 18 months. He mentioned 1991 as the date this decision would be put into effect. In view of this, I would like to ask the minister what were the reasons behind the decision to present the proposal to shorten basic military service to 18 months and not, for instance, to a shorter period of 12 months; and, secondly, what conditions would have to be fulfilled to bring forward the date of implementation of this change [word indistinct] not by the end of 1991, but at an earlier date? Thank you very much.

[Sejm Deputy Speaker Olga Krzyzanowska] Minister of National Defense Florian Siwicki will reply.

[Siwicki] Citizen deputy, may it please the House! I am convinced the question addressed to me by citizen Deputies Janusz Okrzewsik, Marek Rusakiewicz, and Radoslaw Gawlik was dictated by concern for the supreme interests of the state, expressed in the search for the most effective solutions concerning the operation of the Armed Forces.

Proceeding to a specific answer, I would like to inform the chamber that the need to shorten the length of basic military service remains the subject of detailed analysis by the Ministry of National Defense, about which I personally and also ministry representatives informed the public. I would like to stress that the length of basic military service depends on many mutually conditioned factors, mainly on the numbers in successive years of conscripts, enabling the Army to be brought up to strength; the Army's numbers; the degree of professionalization of the Army; the appropriate system of deferring conscription for economic reasons. Given the Army's present personnel figures and a 24-month basic military service, the annual need for conscripts amounts to 155,000. If military service were to be shortened to 18 months, it would be necessary to rotate intake more often and, by the same token, the annual need for conscripts, given the Army's present numbers, would increase to about 204,000. The current annual number of conscripts, with the application of a broad system of deferrment, would not allow these increased needs to be met.

I would like to inform the chamber that we only call up about 55 percent of the population of a given conscript year. One in four conscripts does not meet the health conditions; and one in three has his service deferred for various reasons. To give an idea of the scale of these deferrments, I will quote some statistics, if I may: During last year, deferrment of military service was granted to 28,000 private farmers; 5,000 sole breadwinners with more than two persons to support; 2,500 people caring for Group One invalids; 60,000 secondary and post-A-level students; 35,000 conscripts in professions of particular important for the national economy i.e. miners, steelworkers, communications workers, bakers, transport and shipping employees, etc.

In all, in 1989 this means that over 130,000 deferments were granted. Over and above that, in the group called up for military service, the structure of general and professional preparation is unfavorable. For instance, last year among those entered into the ranks only 21 percent had had a secondary education; 59.4 percent had technical education; and as many as 19.5 percent had only primary education. Such a qualitative cross-section does not favor the shortening of training periods that is indispensable for their preparation for the servicing of modern armaments and military technology. Only in

1991, when on the one hand as a result of restructuring the numbers of soldiers doing national service will be reduced to around 190,000 and the degree of professionalization of the Army will be increased to around 40 percent, and on the other hand there will ensue an increase in numbers in cohorts subject to national service, and surely an improvement in their level of preparation, will it be possible to commence the process of shortening the time of national service to 18 months.

Thus, I do not see the possibility, with the current staffing in the Army, demographic conditions, and the accepted system of deferrments, and also the degree of professionalization of the Army, of shortening the period of service to 18 months at this time. As a hindrance to this there also stands the problem of assuring the appropriate training of soldiers so that they may serve in very often complicated (?regiments), demanding the appropriate technical preparation. It is (?important) to notice that in armies with a high degree, that is over 50 percent, of professionalization, soldiers doing national service fulfill only straightforward, almost service, tasks. On the other hand, in our Army, with 33 percent professionalization, the same soldiers are in great measure allocated to posts commanding modern tanks with systems involving optical-electronic direction of fire, armored vehicles, medium- and long-range radio communications, to the servicing of rockets and other areas of armament and contemporary technology. There is a 6-month period during which they train for these tasks. With a 12-month period of service, this would not leave much time for their integration in the framework of teams and platoons in military fighting units.

Such an organizational solution would not guarantee the indispensable fighting efficiency of the Army, and over and above that the doubled exploitation during the preparation of successive annual intakes, the exploitation of costly technology as a result of the increased rotation in the training of young specialists would clearly burden the budget of the Army.

May it please the House! The current and planned global organizational solutions, which favor shortening of the period of basic military service take into account, in our view, all the conditions ensuing from the need to assure the fighting efficiency of the Army, social expectations, economic needs, and simultaneously the decreasing and not increasing state budget payments allocated to the defense of the country. Every Army with a low degree of professionalization demands such solutions as I have presented. I trust that the esteemed House will share the efforts of the Ministry of National Defense in the matter at hand. Thank you for your attention.

[Krzyzanowska] Thank you, Mr Minister. Does the deputy wish to address the [words indistinct]? Please, go ahead.

[Rusakiewicz] I cannot altogether agree with the statements of the minister. This results from the conviction that today already it is possible, and we know of many cases, for soldiers to do a national service that is not just one that is precisely limited to military training, to military exercises, but often this is a service based mainly on work in industrial work enterprises, where soldiers work as cheap labor, and in sum I think this is one, this is one of the factors that must also be taken into account and of which it is necessary to be aware, which takes place. I would ask the ministry, if this is possible of course, and I think that it is, take in to account precisely the fact that military training has with certainty a varied character, and in certain cases, in many units, such a long cycle of military training is not necessary. The minister here mentioned a 6-month period, and after that it varies, in the next part of the doing of national service. That is the first thing. The second thing, I have a question. Can changes not be made today with the aim of increasing the professionalization of the Army and thereby limiting the numbers? Not just through this, for this is as if my third postulate, so as to go in the direction of limiting the numbers in the Army [as heard]. Do we currently need such numbers, as the minister here mentioned, or can these numbers be reduced? And, I think, that would in fact be all.

[Krzyzanowska] Mr Minister, please.

[Siwicki] Citizen speaker, may it please the House! Regarding the first question, I wish to clarify that in the structure of our armed forces there are operational forces, these are those that have fighting equipment and are allocated for defensive activities, and there are also military units called by us training-production units [jednostki szkoleniowo-produckcyjne]. There are noncombative units. They were created in the previous period, when a significant surplus of national servicemen in the period of this great demographic high induced the usage of these national servicemen, and the economy then recognized that it is worthwhile having such a mobile force. These training-production units exist to this day, although already this year they are in part dissolved and in part are converted to Civil Defense Units, or sections, as they are termed. That is, these are no longer military units, and these are no longer soldiers, but labor brigade members [junacy].

It is true that these units have worked for the needs of the national economy, and this could have created the impression that the Army continues to work in work enterprises. For instance, in the enterprises in Bielsko-Biala, in the small car factory, in the pressing shops and other areas of our production enterprises where this in fact does take place. Currently, as a result of our further (?steps) and through listening to social opinion we are examining this problem.

In the immediate future, we will be proposing it to the Council of Ministers' Economic Committee, so the national economy can adapt. Military organizations like civil defense detachments, militarized units: Are they necessary or will the economy do without them? The

Ministry of National Defense is not interested; it is no concern of ours whether these detachments function in our state.

The next problem is the issue of the professionalization of the Army. The restructuring of the Armed Forces assumes the professionalization of the Army. We are doing this, increasing the Army's (?professionalism), in this way: by decreasing the number of military units, by reforming them. By the same token, the cadres of those units, which have specific professional training and which express agreement, will be transferred to units which remain in the Army system and therefore we will gradually increase the number of cadres in those units. All in all, then, we will professionalize the Army to a greater extent than has been the case up to now.

Our calculations indicate that in 1991, that is next year, after the restructuring has been carried out and reductions have been effected in the Army in the preceding years, in the current year and next year, the professionalization of the Army will increase to about 40 percent and the Army will decrease to numbers in the region of 300,000. If it numbered 347,000 at the beginning of this year, then by 1 November it will have been reduced by about 33,000. We are carrying out further changes and retructuring and next year, it will be decreased by [word indistinct] 14,000. In sum, then, we are going in the direction which the citizen deputy (?asked about) and had doubts whether we were or not.

Now I will address the issue of the 6-month training period and discuss whether the Army will train itself. Well, in operational armies, in military units, to be able to detail a lance corporal or a corporal to service complex technology, we have to train him for about 6 months in an non-commissioned officer training center or a junior specialists' training center. There, on the basis of the professional capabilities and knowledge the young person has already obtained in civilian training, or in carrying out a profession before he was called up, we teach him to operate missiles, medium-range radio stations. He becomes a specialist of a kind, to carry out these very complex tasks.

In Western armies, please note, which are more highly professionalized, such as the Bundeswehr, which has over 55 percent professionalization, or the French or Danish armies, which have over 60 percent,—those things which in our Army are fulfilled by a senior private [starszy szeregowy] or a corporal [kapral] are fulfilled there by professional soldiers or contract soldiers who are engaged for military service for many years. Thus, our solutions are cheaper, although more troublesome for us, but we have no other way out at the moment. On the other hand, during a soldier's stay at a military unit, when he passes on to the servicing of this new technology for 1 and ½ years, there are indeed laxer periods. One cannot, after all, constantly train, for this costs a great deal, the constant introduction of such technology. We must economize, and thus too, its exploitation is very strictly enumerated in hours and kilometers. Thus too, indeed, in the later period, the burden of the private, this corporal, in national service is not so intensive, but the matter rests on the fact that he is constantly ready, in case of higher need, to use this technology.

Ceausescu Visits Industrial, Research Units

AU2911203489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1957 GMT 29 Nov 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit in Industrial Enterprises and Scientific Research Institutes in Bucharest"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/11/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, made a working visit on November 29 in Bucharest industrial enterprises and scientific research institutes. Showing their profound love and valuation for the RCP and Romanian state leader, for his constant preoccupation to develop the capital, the working people in the visited units expressed on that opportunity as well, full satisfaction at Nicolae Ceausescu's re-election to the high office of general secretary of the party.

The first visited unit was the "23 August" enterprise. The dialogue of the party general secretary with the collective of the known enterprise that manufactures engines, compressors, locomotives and other complex installations and equipment for various industrial branches, focused on essential questions of development and modernization of the manufacturing. Telling data were presented referring to the growth, diversification and modernization of production, that emphasized the remarkable progress marked, especially in the period inaugurated by the 9th Congress of the RCP.

Emphasized during the visit were the achievements in improving the quality of products and rendering them more competitive. Nicolae Ceausescu requested the experts to further work for the diversification of the range of engines, for the assimilation of new types, with multiple uses, for the intensification of the assimilation and introduction into current manufacturing of the new types of compressors that have to keep pace with the requirements imposed by the advances in the national and world industry.

The working visit was followed with interest also by a group of press correspondents accredited to Romania and foreign journalists who are in Bucharest these days. Answering the question posed during the visit by the head of the TASS Office in Bucharest, Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that the relations between Romania and the USSR were fine "and the '23 August' enterprise can be an example of this fine collaboration", mentioned the RCP and Romanian state leader, also stressing that the prospects of the Romanian-Soviet relations were very good.

Answering questions put by the Zairean Radio Television correspondent, Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that the links between the two countries were very good, with a string of accords and understandings in that connection, that were adequately fulfilled. "I want to extend best wishes to the friendly Zairean people", concluded Nicolae Ceausescu.

The leader of the RCP and of the state wanted to see the enterprise's restaurant canteen. He inquired about the organization and unfolding of the activity of that unit that daily serves some 7,000 working people. The preoccupations to ensure adequate, diversified supply, to prepare varied menus, culinary preparations and semi preparations on sale there and in the micro canteens and snack bars in various sections were appreciated.

President Nicolae Ceausescu then visited the institute of scientific research and technological engineering for machine-tools in the industrial platform in the Eastern zone of Bucharest. Set up in 1966 upon the RCP general secretary's recommendation, the institute laid foundations to the manufacturing of Romanian machine-tools.

The meeting of the party and state leader with the institute's researchers, designers and other working people occasioned an analysis of the activity for the implementation of the tasks traced to the collective for the diversification of the machine-tool production, for increasing the products' technical and qualitative level, for raising the efficiency of the whole activity.

On seeing round laboratories and production sections, the concrete results scored by the institute were presented, its contribution to substantively increasing the share of the production of special machines, flexible cells and systems, digital control machines and complex and automated technological lines. The building at home was thus ensured of series of machine-tools specializing in complex, high-precision operations to cope with the requirements of power engineering, metallurgy, oil industry, car, tractor and bearing manufacturing.

The dialogue conducted by Nicolae Ceausescu with the experts emphasized the preoccupations in research and production for the assimilation of new types of machine-tools with performance at a world level. The RCP general secretary recommended that action be further taken for the fastest application to production of the results of scientific research and technological engineering, the shortening of the cycle of research-design-execution and application to production.

President Nicolae Ceausescu visited next the machine-tool and plant enterprise, one of the most powerful and modern units of the Romanian industry. Created in the years of socialist construction, the enterprise has developed mostly in the period after the Ninth Party Congress, when its production has risen 20 times or so.

During the visit, stress was laid on the results scored by the collectivity of the enterprise, with the aid of the speciality institute, in the manufacture of specialized equipment and highly complex heavy machine-tools, which compare with similar products worldwide.

Nicolae Ceausescu pointed to the constant concern of this unit to raise the quality and competitiveness of machine-tools, the results along this line, and asked that action be further taken to increase labor productivity,

shorten the time taken by the execution of machine-tools, increase the production of the enterprise as a whole, so that it may rank among the best in Europe, and, if possible, be the best of Europe.

The RCP general secretary's visit continued at the "Tricodava" enterprise, standard unit of the Romanian knitwear industry. Main workshops and an exhibition were seen round and it was stressed that 78 per cent of the production of the enterprise was up to world standards. The knitwear made here are increasingly appreciated at home and abroad.

President Nicolae Ceausescu visited next the national physics center important unit of the Romanian science and education. Created upon the recommendation of the RCP general secretary and inaugurated 15 years ago, the center trains highly skilled specialists to meet the demands of the national economy, turns to best account the scientific potential.

The visit started at the Faculty of Physics, where the party general secretary was informed about the training and education of future specialists, the results of the teaching staff and students in the research activity. The work and the achievements of the teachers and pupils of the mathematics and physics high college in the activity of integration of education with research and production were brought to the fore.

The visit to the major unit of the Central Physics Institute was an opportunity to set forth the results in atomic physics and in other peak fields. An exhibition featured the latest achievements in the creation of new materials, equipment and outfit for high-precision measuring, modern control systems.

During the visit, emphasize was placed on the concerns for an increasing contribution of research on physics and nuclear energy in the settlement of high-complex problems posed by the current and long-term development of the national economy.

Nicolae Ceausescu appreciated the results of the units of the national physics center and requested that growing concern should be shown to find new solutions to raise quality, labor productivity and the building rate of nuclear-electric power plants. Action was further recommended for most efficient technologies to be devised to allow for the modernization of industrial processes, for the intensification of the research activity in peak fields, for the fulfillment of the vanguard role of physics in science.

Ceausescu, Dascalescu Cable SFRY Leaders

AU2811203889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1934 GMT 28 Nov 89

["Congratulatory Telegrams"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] To Comrade Milan Panchevski, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Belgrade,

Esteemed Comrade Panchevski,

On the 44th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic and the 46th anniversary of the session of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation, in behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, of Romanian Communists and working people, as well as in my own behalf, I am extending to you, to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, to Communists and working people warm congratulations and cordial wishes of new successes in socialist construction.

I am fully confident that the friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, between the two neighbour socialist countries, will develop in future as well, in the interests of our peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace.

Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

To Comrade Janez Drnovsek, president of the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Belgrade,

In behalf of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of the whole Romanian people and in my own behalf, I am conveying to you, to the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to the Yugoslav peoples, cordial congratulations and wishes of fresh success in building socialism in friendly and neighbour Yugoslavia, on the 44th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic and the 46th anniversary of the session of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation.

Starting from the importance of the bilateral summit understandings, I am expressing my confidence that the traditional relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Yugoslavia will further deepen and consolidate, in the interests of our peoples, of the cause of socialism, security, collaboration and peace in the Balkans, in Europe and the world over.

Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On the same occasion, Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, has sent to Ante Markovic, chairman of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a telegram of warm congratulations and wishes of success in the homeland's socialist development. The telegram expresses the confidence that the two countries' governments will work for the development of the relations between Romania and Yugoslavia on multiple planes, in the interests of their peoples.

Gorbachev Overflies SFRY, Sends Greetings

LD2911110589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0957 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Zagreb, 29 NOv (TANJUG)—While flying over Yugoslav territory this morning on his way to Rome, Mikhail Gorbachev, the head of the Soviet state and party, sent Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, Milan Pancevski, President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, and all the nations and nationalities of the SFRY, a message of most cordial greetings with best wishes for prosperity and peace.

Mikhail Gorbachev sent the message for the most responsible functionaries of the state and party and to the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia via the regional flight control of Zagreb airport.

Public Meetings Banned in Slovenia From 30 Nov

AU2911114289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] From 30 November until further notice, travel and gathering of citizens in public places will be banned in Slovenia. To be more precise, all public meetings and gathering of citizens in public places are banned on the entire territory of Slovenia.

All public performances are also banned except for those that were given permits by Slovene internal affairs organs. From 30 November until the ban is lifted, all gatherings of citizens into groups larger than 30 people are banned. Travel is banned to the people heading for banned public meetings and performances. Travel is also banned to the motor vehicles transporting people who are going to banned public meetings and performances.

Serbian SAWP Presidium Holds Conference

Call To Break Ties With Slovenia

AU2911152889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] The session of the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia is currently under way. Here is a report by our colleague Milorad Jovic:

[Begin Jovic recording] The session concluded about 5 minutes ago by adopting the proclamation to the citizens of Serbia. The proclamation reads as follows:

The Slovene authorities' decision to oppose with force the well-intentioned citizens who wanted to bring bread and salt and truth about Kosovo to Ljubljana, represents an unheard-of act of aggression against basic human right and freedoms. Through this act, Slovenia has become the only European state to ban gatherings and suspend the civil right to gather and associate, which is guaranteed by the constitutions of all democratic countries. Such measures of repression have not existed on the territory of Yugoslavia since the day the occupiers were thrown out of our country.

Being a part of the continuous activity on breaking Yugoslavia apart, this act of violence against the citizens of Yugoslavia—Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, Slovenes, and members of all our peoples and nationalities who announced their peaceful and dignified visit to Ljubljana—represents a crime against truth and justice and a manifestation and an announcement of the return to the political scene of the darkest forces from the past.

The Peoples and nationalities of Serbia, who during their entire history have been capable of resolutely saying no to all injustice, humiliation, and violence, whatever the price, do not agree with such an act and do not want to humiliate themselves further by begging Slovenia not to secede from Yugoslavia and not to carry out an anti-Yugoslav, anti-Serb, and inhumane policy.

Therefore, the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia calls on all institutions and work organizations in Serbia to break all ties with Slovenia because basic human rights and freedoms have been suspended there. We recommend that no citizen of Serbia should ask Slovenia to remain in Yugoslavia, nor should he humiliate himself by offering bread and salt to those people who are ready to shoot at him.

As far as Serbia is concerned, it will remain wide open to all progressive and free people and ideas, and it will not close its doors to any Yugoslav people and nationalities, nor will it turn its militia into a means of repression against human rights and freedoms, it is said at the end of the proclamation of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia to the citizens of Serbia.

About 10 minutes ago, members of the Republican Conference Presidium held a lengthy debate on the text of the proclamation, and adopted it unanimously with one abstention. Major General Tomislav Perunicic said that he was certain that what is done in Slovenia is not supported by all citizens of that republic, because not all citizens of that republic think this way. He is of the opinion that the call to break links (?with this) republic may be undesirable and provoke a contrary effect, and therefore he abstained from voting for the proclamation. [end recording]

Secretary on Slovene Meetings Ban

AU2911172589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] A session of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia is under way in Belgrade. It discusses the latest decisions by the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in connection with the announced departure of Serbs and Montenegrins to the Meeting of Truth in Ljubljana on 1 December. [passage omitted]

Radmilo Bogdanovic, republican secretary for internal affairs of Serbia, spoke after President Radmila Andjelkovic:

[Begin Bogdanovic recording] On the basis of this announcement by the republican secretary for internal affairs of Slovenia, the assessment by all of us present there—the republican secretaries and the federal secretary [meeting in Zagreb on 28 November]—was that we must take measures in our power, each in his territory, and first of all inform the leadership, the organs, and the citizens about what decrees had been adopted, and that these decrees practically affect and bind all citizens of the SFRY and all other citizens who may happen to be in the territory of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia from 30 November until these decrees are rescinded.

Let me inform you that for this reason we have taken steps in our organs to inform—through our internal affairs organs in the territory of the republic—our citizens and those who have intended to participate in the meeting or have organized themselves that this decree, or rather these decrees conform with the legal regulations of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia presently in force. This will also be done by the appropriate organs in all the republics and provinces, because these decrees have been conveyed to all the republican and provincial secretariats. The internal affairs organs and other respective organs in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia will take measures for the purpose of a consistent implementation of these decrees, prosecuting the persons who contravene these decrees for misdemeanors, and they may also use means of coercion. This is to say that we want to warn our citizens about the effect of these decrees issued by the republican secretary for internal affairs of Slovenia.

I must say in conclusion that because of the speed and because of the short time during which information must be imparted, we have requested our organs to convey this to the leading persons in the communes and the regions, which is to say the people who should get in touch with the citizens, so that the citizens who have had the intention or have the intention to travel to Ljubljana may be informed in the shortest possible time about the content of these decrees and of their effect. [end recording]

As we have said, the session of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia is under way. A proclamation is expected to be addressed to the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Belgrade Economic Chamber To Break Slovene Ties

LD2911213289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1935 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—The presidium of Belgrade economic chamber, in expanded composition, held a session this afternoon in connection with, as stated, unreasonable and brutal decisions by powerful Slovene men, which, in a manner unfamiliar to the civilized and democratic world, limit fundamental human liberties and rights, insult human dignity, attack equality of nations and nationalities, suspend the Yugoslav Constitution, and introduce lawlessness and rule of force—and all this in order to keep the truth from the Slovene people. The presidium noted that at this moment, the peak of insolence and unfounded attacks on the Serbian people and other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia has been reached, and that, thereby, economic cooperation is practically made impossible and is broken off. Because of all this, as mentioned in the statement, the presidium of the Belgrade economic chamber calls on all economic organizations from Belgrade to break off immediately economic, business, and any other cooperation with Slovene economy, until normal conditions for a joint life and equal economic cooperation are created.

Further Commentary on 1 Dec Ljubljana Rally

Slovene Groups Denounce Meeting

AU2911193389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 28 Nov 89 p 3

["Appeal to the State Organs of Slovenia and to the Public"—date and place not given]

[Text] 1. The fact that the Yugoslav authorities have not taken any steps during the preparations for the Ljubljana meeting shows that the Yugoslav federation is falling apart even as a law-governed state. The announced unitarian march on Ljubljana means an attack on Slovene sovereignty and human rights with the purpose to annihilate the process of democracy in Slovenia. We therefore demand:

—an immediate convening of the Slovene assembly which should redefine the position of Slovenia in Yugoslavia; and
—a referendum to be held on the starting points for a new Slovene constitution.

2. The Slovene authorities have banned the Ljubljana meeting. In the name of Slovene sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Slovene state, in the name of the protection of human rights, we demand that the Slovene authorities should implement their decision and prevent the meeting in accordance with the Slovene Constitution. If the Slovene authorities fail to do this, they will display their impotence.

3. As a show of protest against the march on Slovenia and against the attack on Slovene sovereignty, we appeal to all the citizens of Slovenia and all the enterprises and institutions in Slovenia to hold a general strike between 0900 and 1200 [1000 and 1300 GMT] on 1 December 1989.

The meeting supporters and those who stand behind them should be aware that we Slovenes alone will decide at free elections what kind of authority we have.

[Signed] The Slovene Writers Association,

The Slovene Democratic Alliance,

The Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia,

The Human Rights Protection Committee,

Slovene Christian Democrats,

The Slovene Peasant Alliance,

The Greens of Slovenia.

Stanovnik Condemns Meeting

LD2911174189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Nov (TANJUG)—The meeting announced for 1 December in Ljubljana constitutes "pressure which is growing into an attack on the constitutional system of Yugoslavia, on the sovereignty of one member of the Federation [words indistinct], stressed Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, in a statement in this evening's main news program on Ljubljana television. "This year we are anticipating the republican holiday with a sense of dejection resulting from the attempts to illegally organize a mass rally in Ljubljana," Stanovnik said, stressing that the organizers of the so-called "meeting of truth" are not concealing their real intention. "As if to jibe at our present-day new AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] republican Yugoslavia, they want to organize the rally on 1 December, the day of the formation of the old monarchist Yugoslaiva."

Going on to recall that 2 months ago Slovenia decided on amendments to the republican constitution "which express the sovereignty of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Slovenia, lay the foundation for new democracy, and guarantee basic human rights for the citizens," Stanovnik stressed "that the next few days will be a test of that self-confidence and political maturity. The amendments to the constitution of the SR of Slovenia are the continuation of the spirit of the Kocevski meeting at which emissaries of the Slovene nation proudly announced that the Slovene nation had at last joined the sovereign nations with full rights. Their decision was adopted and endorsed the next day 46 years ago by AVNOJ. The federal, democratic, and republican Yugoslavia was born. A state of sovereign nations, and not a state of one nation was made up of various tribes, as it was perpetuated by the monarchy right up until its fall. This is why any attempt by the majority by either direct or indirect use of force, through rally campaigns, to achieve and impose its will on all in Yugoslavia is condemned to the same fate which befell the prewar kingdom. Yugoslavia can only be a federation, or it will not exist!

I know that to many my words will sound like the voice of despair from the wilderness, but I speak them in the firm conviction that there is still time - although it is five to midnight.

Precisely because it is the last chance, we should remember on 29 November the principles which saved the Slovenes and other Yugoslav nations in the war, and which alone can form the basis for our future coexistence," Janez Stanovnik concluded.

Internal Officials View Rally

LD2811233689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2220 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Nov (TANJUG)—Peter Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs, met in Zagreb today with the republican and provincial secretaries for internal affairs of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia, and the Socialist Autonomous Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. At the meeting they examined the current security and political situation which has arisen over the scheduled meeting in Ljubljana and the duties of the internal affairs organs of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces with regard to the decision of the competent organs of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in connection with the announced meeting.

The federal secretary for internal affairs noted that all SFRY citizens are bound to respect and carry out the decisions of the competent organs adopted on the basis of the Constitution and the law. It was assessed that failure to observe the adopted decisions could have serious consequences for public order and peace, which would be reflected in a further complication of the security situation.

Nationwide Attendance at Ljubljana Rally

'About 4,000' From Kosovo

LD2911161489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1123 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Pristina, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—The committee of the Association for the Return of Serbs and Monetenegrins is not giving up its intention to organize a meeting of truth in Ljubljana. According to Bogdan Kecman, president of the Kosovo Polje-based committee, final preparations for the trip to Ljubljana are under way today.

It is estimated in Kosovo Polje that about 4,000 people from Kosovo will tomorrow set off for Ljubljana. It is planned that the majority of these people will tomorrow board two special trains scheduled to leave Kosovo Polje at 1600 and 1630. According to the committee, over 1,000 people will set off for Slovenia in coaches and cars.

'Several Thousand' Montenegrins

LD2911160889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1355 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Titograd, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—Several thousand people from Montenegro will travel to Ljubljana to attend the meeting of truth. The organizing committee has so far received 3,000 applications but it is thought that there are many people who will set off for Ljubljana in groups or individually bypassing official organizers. The majority of work organizations have selected their

best workers and managers as their representativeds at the Ljubljana meeting in an attempt to avoid the risk of excessive behavior. The participants in the meeting from Montenegro will carry the SFRY and League of Communists of Yugoslavia flags, not many placards, and no pictures. The majority of participants will set off on their journey from Niksic tomorrow at 1000 in either coaches or cars. The idea of an organized journey by rail has been abandoned because of the distance and other reasons.

Further on Attendance

AU2911161689

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 29 November in its regular newscast carries three 2-minute reports concerning the rally which Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins intend to hold in Ljubljana on 1 December.

Reporting from Kosovo Polje, correspondent Milivoje Mihajlovic says that "the Committee for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins Who Have Emigrated From Kosovo is not abandoning the idea of organizing the meeting of truth in Ljubljana. According to Bogdan Kecman, president of the Committee, final preparations for the trip to Slovenia are being conducted today. It is expected that about 4,000 citizens will leave for Ljubljana tomorrow. It is planned that the majority of those who want to take part in the meeting will leave in two special trains. The first one is due to leave at 1600 tomorrow and the second ½ hour later. More than 1,000 Kosovo citizens are expected to leave for Slovenia by buses or cars."

According to the second report, which is read by a studio announcer, "Several thousands of people from Montenegro intend to take part in the meeting of truth in Ljubljana. So far 3,000 people have asked the committee for organizing the trip to put their name down, but is certain that there are many of those who will go to the meeting on their own." The report also adds that the majority of those who want to go Slovenia will leave Niksic by cars and buses about 1000 [1100 GMT] tomorrow morning.

According to the third report by a regular correspondent from Vojvodina, Nikola Bulatovic, "Several thousands of people have already bought bus and train tickets. One special train and about 100 busses are expected to leave for Slovenia tomorrow. Departure is organized everywhere, and it is indeed difficult to say how many people will go to the capital city of Slovenia from this province all together."

Reportage, Commentary on Rally Cancellation

Kosovo Statement on Cancellation

LD2911190589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1746 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Pristina, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo will not go to the meeting in Ljubljana. The decision was made this evening at a session of the Presidium of the Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins.

Here is the statement from the session: We asked to go to the meeting in the belief that truth has no boundaries. Now, when it is clear to the Yugoslav public that stories about Slovene democratic spirit are just a farce, and a time when that democracy is offering us clubs and violence instead of hospitality, we no longer want to go to an environment ruled by a police regime unknown by a modern civilization.

All of us living in Kosovo—Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, Muslims, Turks, Croats, Slovenes, and others—wanted to go to Slovenia with our frustrations and in order to tell the truth about Kosovo and the terror to which we are exposed. We wanted to go with open hearts, in the same way in which we brotherly greeted everyone in Serbia. We wanted to show you a photograph of a mother protecting her children with a gun from a terrorist. Today, we cannot believe that instead of warm and brotherly hand, clubs and guns are greeting us at the Slovene border. Instead of welcoming us, you closed your borders and violated all human liberties and rights, guaranteed by all democratic constitutions, including the Yugoslav one. Such insane actions and uncivilized decisions clearly show that they were made by an anti-democratic regime ruling Slovenia.

Hereby, you have not disgraced Yugoslavia, but you have disgraced Slovenia in front of the whole world. Going to Slovenia would today mean humiliation for every person, and the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples in Kosovo are not prepared to suffer humiliation; they have not lost their historical dignity, even when they were slaves, when they were not free. We send a message to everyone who left for Slovenia to retain their dignity and not to follow the road of truth, because the truth is today clearer than ever before.

Bogdan Kecman, president of the association, sent an appeal to citizens of the Republic of Serbia to observe the stands of the Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference, contained in today's proclamation.

Kosovo Serbs Cancel Meeting

AU2911184089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] The Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo will not go to the Meeting of Truth in Ljubljana. This is the decision of the Committee for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo. The committee informs all those who have departed that they should not go to Ljubljana. Milivoje Mihajlovic reports:

The session of the committee was also attended by representatives of many Kosovo communes. The statement issued at the committee session says that now, when it has become clear to the Yugoslav public that the tales about party democracy are a mere farce, and when

that democracy offers truncheons and violence instead of hospitality, we no longer wish to go to Ljubljana.

We cannot believe that truncheons and pointed rifles, instead of a human and brotherly hand, are waiting for us at the borders of Slovenia. Instead of welcoming us, you closed the borders and trampled upon all human freedoms and rights guaranteed by every constitution in the democratic world, including the Constitution of Yugoslavia. Such underhand moves and uncivilized decrees taken by you clearly show that they have been adopted by the anti-democratic regime that rules in Slovenia, and this way you did not sully Yugoslavia but you did sully Slovenia before the whole world, the statement stresses.

Going to Slovenia would now be demeaning for every man, and the Serbian and the Montenegrin people in Kosovo are least prepared to submit to such humiliation, for they did not lose their historical dignity when they were slaves and not when they are free. Therefore, the decision of the committee is not to go to Slovenia, the statement says.

The message of the Kosovo Polje committee to all the citizens who have departed for Slovenia is that they should remain dignified and should not embark on the road of truth, because the truth is now clearer than ever. At the same time, the committee demands of all the citizens of Serbia and the Serbia's leadership that the stances in today's proclamation by the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People should begin to be implemented at once.

After this latest decision by the Kosovo Polje Committee, it is quite certain that the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo will not depart for Ljubljana.

Rakovica Workers Not To March

AU2911200689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] A few minutes ago, our reporter Radovan Brankov returned from Rakovica where he interviewed Milivoje Nikolic, president of the Trade Unions in that Belgrade commune, on the intentions of Rakovica workers with regard to the previously organized departure for Ljubljana.

[Begin recording] [Brankov] Comrade Nikolic, you have had your meeting. What have you decided?

[Nikolic] Our aim was clear. We decided that we wanted to, and ultimately we had to support our people in Kosovo, and, considering that they have decided not to go, there remains nothing for us but to accept their recommendation and not go.

[Brankov] Is this a final decision?

[Nikolic] It certainly will stay like this, because nothing else would do. Anything else would perhaps be something else that we do not desire in any case. [end recording]

Radio Welcomes Cancellation

AU2911203589 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1800 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Commentary by Boris Dolnicar]

[Text] The Meeting of Truth has been cancelled. Those hangers- on at meetings will not come to Ljubljana. According to an official spokesman of the Committee for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo, a culprit must be found. For the time being, this culprit in his eyes is Slovenia, or rather the Slovene political and state leadership that, since the announcement of the meeting, has been warning about the consequences of demonstrations, violence, force, and threats that emanated from Kosovo Polje, Novi Sad, Belgrade, and elsewhere in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

However, the culprits for the aggravation of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia must be sought somewhere else. The sooner the organizers and those issuing orders for this unprecedented and unfulfilled act realize this, the better for them, for Serbia, for Kosovo, and for all of Yugoslavia. If this is the beginning of the prevalence of reason in searching for a way out of the Yugoslav political crisis, we can really relax on Republic Day. Radio Ljubljana sincerely hopes this is so.

Ljubljana Meeting Switched to Belgrade 1 Dec

LD3011121289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Titograd, 30 Nov (TANJUG)—About 2,000 Titograd workers and citizens, who were due to attend a meeting of truth in Ljubljana this morning, assembled in the center of the town to protest a decision by Slovenia's official bodies to close the republic's borders to those who wanted to attend the meeting.

Meanwhile, the committee responsible for organizing the departure of Ljubljana met this morning. After the meeting, a decision was announced to the effect that all the would-be passengers for Ljubljana, as well as other citizens who wish to, should set off for Belgrade to attend a meeting at 1000 tomorrow to protest the Slovene leadership's decision and behavior. In addition to a large number of coaches, two special trains will also be put at the disposal of those who wish to travel to Belgrade.

Youth Demand Free Elections at Skopje Meeting

AU2311211789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] More than 20,000 students and citizens have gathered in Skopje this evening at a meeting held under

the motto—let the voice of Macedonian students be heard. Here is a report by Boris Djordjioski:

[Begin Djordjioski recording] The young people have once again expressed their refusal to reconcile themselves to the 40-year-long assimilation of the Macedonian minority in neighboring countries and with negations of the very existence of the Macedonian nation. Hence the categorical demand that Yugoslavia should support all activities aimed at acquainting the international public with such a discriminatory policy. It is high time that Europe as a zone of peace, a zone without visas, and with the free flow of ideas, culture, labor, and capital [word indistinct] on this territory, it was said in Skopje this evening.

The young people of Macedonia want to have a life ("more worthy) of man. Therefore, they demand the democratization of society, competition of knowledge and abilities, and the recognition of different interests. But they no more want their ideas and programs to be implemented by those people who either do not understand or do not accept these ideas. Therefore, they support free and direct elections and secret ballots, and they want the struggle for interests to be transferred to the polls and state assemblies. That means that the young people of Macedonia demand that their own delegates, and not representatives of other political structures should fight for their ideas at the Macedonian Assembly.

Programs cannot be implemented without power, it was said in Skopje this evening, and we want a future that will not be given for free, foretold, or tailored for us, but one that we will create for ourselves alone. [end recording]

Daily Publishes Information on Officials' Pay

AU2311120989

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 1-3 November carries three separate reports on personal incomes in Yugoslavia.

According to a 600-word report by G. Djukic, "Lower Than Thought," published in BORBA of 1 November on page 5, the average personal income in August of this year was 6,362,255 dinars. The report also publishes the base salaries of various officials for September of this year. The base salary of the president of the Confederation of the Trade Unions of Yugoslavia was 20,504,245 dinars. The base salary of the president, members, and the secretary of the Central Committee League of Communists of Yugoslavia was 22,788,000 dinars. The base salary of the president of Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia was 21,877,000 dinars.

The report also states that the Yugoslav press has denied the rumor that the salary of the president of the Federal Executive Council is $1,000 a month, but that it is more likely to be "around half of that amount, around 23,000,000 dinars."

According to a 700-word report by a group of reporters, entitled "Miniature Africa," published in BORBA of 2 November on page 6, the base salary of the president of the SFRY Presidency is 22,788,050 dinars. The base salary of the president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the president of the League of Communists of Serbia were 22,165,110 dinars.

The 1,200-word report in BORBA of 3 November on page 6, "Oil Industry Workers Top of the League," carries extensive information on monthly salaries earned by managers in various branches of the economy. It also publishes the base pay of the president of the Kosovo Presidency which in October of this year stood at 25,962,800 dinars.